



Rhodesia must decide today on race issue

From PETER NIESEWAND: Salisbury, November 21

With the Anglo-Rhodesian summit a step away from deadlock, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, was today studying memoranda from Rhodesia's two nationalist leaders. Both urged that no independence should be granted before African majority rule.

Sir Alec's negotiations with the Smith regime are bogged down over principle, which calls for progress towards ending racial discrimination. Today, Mr Smith and his negotiators met privately to decide Rhodesia's tactics and possible concessions. The Rhodesian leader called a Cabinet meeting.

In talks over six days, I understand, the British have shown no sign of being the first to hudge on the major points of difference. The next move must come from Mr Smith.

Smith may be ill or injured

By PATRICK KEATLEY, Diplomatic Correspondent

Friends of the Rhodesian African Nationalist leader, Rev. "Daba" Sithole, here and in Salisbury, worried that something has happened to his health or his physical well-being while in Salisbury City, and that this was why Ian Smith and his negotiators refused the request for Sir Alec Douglas-Home to visit him.

One of the people most concerned is Mr Sithole's married daughter—a university graduate now living in this country in Salisbury—and is married to an African University teacher. She is Miss Siphelele Sithole, who prefers to keep her married name confidential. She is said to be a political activist and has been in the past a member of the African Nationalist Party. She is said to be a political activist and has been in the past a member of the African Nationalist Party. She is said to be a political activist and has been in the past a member of the African Nationalist Party.

Israelis unruffled by Sadat speech

From WALTER SCHWARZ: Jerusalem, November 21

The Israeli Chief of Staff, General Bar-Lev, and the Defence Minister, General Dayan, both briefed the Cabinet on the military situation in the light of yesterday's unceremonious by President Sadat's decision to sue for peace.

Israeli leaders reacted in sorrow that in anger to such that is regarded as one series rather than a state of a new policy. The net did not debate the issue, and spent most of its time in a new austerity measures designed to reduce inflation.

able solution" either in a Suez Canal arrangement, or in negotiations through Dr Jarring, provided each side could put its position without ultimatums or prior conditions, or else by the "normal negotiating procedures open to sovereign states."

Sadat's speech has heightened the atmosphere of resignation and apprehension here. Senior officials who a few weeks ago were inclined to dismiss his threats as histrionic now feel that he may really have decided to renew the shooting in the coming months, in the hope that the Great Powers will intervene and impose a solution.

Sadat keeps his options open, and US moves break down page 2: The implications of verbal aggression, page 10

Two months ago, another Parkhurst inmate narrowly escaped death in circumstances "disturbingly similar" to Saturday's incident.

The team of 30 detectives, under Chief Superintendent Jack Holdaway, questioned almost 300 prisoners at the

BOSS links extensive, says MP

A group of Labour MPs investigating the activities in this country of the South African secret police claimed last night that cooperation between the secret police and British security was far more extensive than was originally feared.

Mr James Wellbeloved, who has already questioned the Home Secretary about the activities of the South African State Security (BOSS), said: "This cooperation goes far beyond normal police relationships."

Mr Mandling said in the Commons on November 11 that liaison between Scotland Yard and South African security was limited in crime and the protection of individuals and property.

From their investigations, the MPs are also satisfied that BOSS agents have:

1. Waged campaigns of intimidation and harassment against South Africans living in Britain and British opponents of apartheid.
2. Repeatedly attempted to plant informers inside anti-apartheid groups.
3. Used bribes and coercion in attempts to force South Africans in this country to inform on people regarded as enemies of the Vorster regime.

Mr Wellbeloved, MP for Erith and Crayford, is working with Mr Alex Lyov (Leeds), Mr Arthur Davidson (Abercrombie), and Mr David Stoddart (Swindon), on the group's steering committee. They are now in place two questions before the Foreign Secretary.

The first will ask the Foreign Office for the numbers of South African embassy staff working in Britain in each year between 1964 and 1971. The second will ask the FO to divulge the legislation and responsibilities of all South African diplomats in this country.

The group is convinced that there have been between eight and 20 BOSS agents working in Britain. Their activities have been traced back in 1964 and most appeared to be working under diplomatic cover.

The MPs began their inquiry three weeks ago. Two months earlier, Mr Wellbeloved was contacted by a Special Branch member who had been dismissed after a Scotland Yard investigation.

Mr Wellbeloved said that a sizeable number of people had been contacted in recent weeks and had supplied much important information.

"There is no longer any doubt in our minds about the size and scope of the work of BOSS in Britain... or the sort of work they have been performing."

No one, he said, would object to normal cooperation between police forces on criminal matters. "But the cooperation we have investigated goes far beyond this. The South Africans have repeatedly contacted British security for information

about people who have broken apartheid-linked laws such as the Land Tenure Act and the Pass Law.

The cooperation was extreme during the campaign to stop the 1970 tour by the South African cricketers are said. BOSS agents here have repeatedly contacted South Africans whose passports have been marked "never to return" and offered to help them in return for working as informers.

It was learned last night that Scotland Yard is still inquiring into recent attempts to bribe South Africans in London for information about Bantustan leaders who recently visited Britain.

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WORLD-WIDE demonstrations on a woman's right to choose abortion took place at the weekend. Above: A section of the London protest. Another view, page 7

Shadow election troubles Tribune

By FRANCIS BOYD, Political Correspondent

Mr John Mendelson refused to comment last night on reports that he had resigned as chairman of the Tribune group of Labour MPs because he has been left off the group's list of candidates for the Shadow Cabinet election.

He is one of several MPs said to be unhappy at the way the group is setting up opposition to pro-EEC candidates. Others do not want to be directed about whom to vote for and one Tribune member is quoted as having said on seeing the list: "I take instructions from no one."

It has also been suggested that Mr Ian Mikardo, who has just finished his year as chairman of the Labour Party, would not be one of the group's best hopes. But this was flatly denied last night by a member, who said that while Mr Mikardo was thinking of taking the group to court, he was not standing for the Shadow Cabinet and will certainly be nominated.

Tribune includes such favourites as Mr Foot, Mr Mikardo, Mr Orme, Mr Heffer, and Mr John Sillkin. But there are also Mr Jay, Mr Shure, Mrs Castle, and Mr Ross, whose hostility to EEC entry is thought by Tribune to give them a good chance of beating pro-EEC candidates.

No ballot paper will be invalid, as it is used to be, if it does not show 12 votes. This makes speculation about the result all the more complex. Of the present members of the Shadow Cabinet, it is assumed that Mr Callaghan, Mr Benn, Mr Short, and Mr Peart may be reasonably sure of re-election.

There is argument about the chances of Mr Healey, who voted against the EEC on October 28, but who is favoured by the Jenkins camp; Mr Crossland, who abstained on October 28; and Mr Shirley Williams, Mr Harold Lever, and Mr Thomson, who all voted for the EEC.

The future of Mr Ross is also uncertain. Although safely anti-Market, he faces divided opinion among his Scottish colleagues on Europe.

The pro-EEC group is suffering heart-ache over the preparation of the most promising 12: should Mr Hattersley, Mr Rodgers, and Mr Taverne be included? The odds are on Mr Hattersley.

So much organisation is going into the compilation of two rival lists that the chances of any "independent" candidate are slender, unless moderate Labour MPs, sick of factions, plump for one or two middle-men.

Jones heads militant challenge on jobs

By KEITH HARPER

A number of large industries are likely to be affected by industrial disruption on Wednesday as thousands of workers take the day off to join the mass TUC rally at the House of Commons on unemployment.

The rally will be the culmination of a series of demonstrations organised by the TUC in various parts of the country. At one of these in Coventry yesterday, Mr Jack Jones, the transport workers' leader, told more than 2,000 people that if employers created unemployment this would be fought with strike action.

Workers from all over the country will take part in the mass lobby of MPs on Wednesday and attend a meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster. The worst affected industries are likely to be building, the docks, and engineering.

Production of national newspapers could be affected, since the print unions have asked their members to support the demonstration. Officials of the London district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which represents 250,000 people, have asked all their members to participate.

Mr Jones is the main host of the TUC meeting with the Prime Minister next Monday.

day, he would have like every possible pressure exerted on the Government on Wednesday and had demanded this day as the proper time for Mr Heath to meet the TUC General Council. But Wednesday was not convenient for Mr Heath.

Mr Jones said at Coventry that anger over the highest unemployment figures for 30 years—they stand at 870,000—was rising so rapidly that "the lame ducks have become mad dogs." It would be a miracle, if the total jobless did not rise beyond a million.

In the Midlands 15 men were chasing one job. The Government were "misery makers who either do not care or won't care about the problems they are creating." To a loud cheer, he said that the trade union movement must adopt action policies along with the Labour Party to force the Government out of action.

Mr Jones argued that working people were being caught in a vicious squeeze. New technology and new methods were cutting jobs on the one hand, while the lack of expansion failed to provide jobs on the other. He urged a programme of strong measures to refuel the economy, including an immediate stimulus to consumption by increased wages, particularly for the lower paid, and a "decent increase" for pensioners.

This is the kind of programme the TUC leaders will be demanding that the Government should carry out when they see Mr Heath next week. They also want a further lowering of the Bank rate and interest rates to encourage investment, and an accelerated programme of public building works.

Cabinet meeting, page 5

Mountain hunt for children

A search was launched last night for a party of schoolchildren overdue from a walking trip in the Cairngorm mountains.

Searchers set out in sub-zero temperatures, with visibility often down to a few feet, to check mountain huts where the children could have taken shelter.

The party of eight—four girls and two boys, aged 15 to 16, had by two girls aged 15 and 21—are from an Edinburgh school.

They set out on Saturday from the Edinburgh Centre for Outdoor Education at Kinross, near Aviemore. They were due to stay overnight in a mountain hut and return yesterday at 4 p.m. The search was called when they failed to turn up.

Another party which set out from the centre earlier on Saturday returned on schedule yesterday—but they did not see the missing other party.

Several other mountain rescue teams were to start searching at daybreak today. Most of the huts are deep in the Cairngorms and will be difficult to reach in the storm, the worst to hit the Cairngorms this winter.

Making room for safety

A CORNISH HOTEL is offering free food and breakfast to any restaurant guests who want a night's drinking without the problem of driving home.

The "give-away" nights are the idea of Mr Noveri Prifer, manager of the Bedruthin Steps Hotel, St Mawgan, and are available on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights through the winter. To date, 21 guests have accepted the offer. The only qualification is that the guest must have booked a £150 dinner in advance.

Labouring on

MR TED ROWLANDS, aged 31, former MP for Cardiff North, has been selected to stand as the Labour candidate against Mr S. O. Davies at Merthyr Tydfil at the next election. If the present Parliament runs its full term, Mr Davies will be 80 at the next contest. He had a majority of 7,467 over the official Labour candidate last year.

UCS visit

A TRADE union delegation from the Upper Clyde arrived in East Germany yesterday. They will meet workers of the State-run Warnow yard in Warnemünde.

Birds in hand

ABOUT seven million turkeys will be sold this Christmas according to a producers' marketing organisation, but prices will be slightly higher than last year. Increased production costs are blamed.

Director goes

THE DIRECTOR of the Soviet Radio and Television Orchestra, Yuri Aronovich, has been dismissed after applying to emigrate to Israel. Reuter quotes Jewish sources in Moscow as saying that Aronovich was sacked the day before he was to have directed the premiere of his own opera. His records have been withdrawn from shops.

Cliff fall

A LANDSLIDE on the Isle of Sheppey yesterday sent half of a cottage and a section of roadway over the cliff edge. No one was hurt.

Silence on Parkhurst death

By PETER HARVEY

Detectives investigating the murder of a prisoner at Parkhurst prison at the weekend are convinced that at least two prisoners know the identity of the killer and the reason for the murder, but that eyewitnesses will not talk for fear of being killed themselves.

Two months ago, another Parkhurst inmate narrowly escaped death in circumstances "disturbingly similar" to Saturday's incident.

The team of 30 detectives, under Chief Superintendent Jack Holdaway, questioned almost 300 prisoners at the

maximum security prison yesterday, and will continue investigating today. The inquiry began after the brutally beaten body of Bernard Brown, aged 34, was found in a corridor in cell block B on Saturday afternoon.

Brown, from Leeds, had completed a year of a five-year sentence for robbery and attempted theft. He was a category "B" prisoner—not more than an average security risk—and prisoner officers told detectives that he was quiet, kept to himself, and avoided trouble.

Detectives yesterday discovered that Brown was returning to his cell with dozens of

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OVERSEAS NEWS

'Time for battle'— but Sadat keeps his options open

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT: Beirut, November 21

President Sadat's weekend announcement that Egypt has decided to fight and that "the time for battle has arrived" caused concern but not despair in Beirut. There were signs that the Egyptian leader had left the door open and that he was not contemplating any immediate resumption of hostilities. Although he told the troops during his tour of frontline Suez positions that there was no alternative to battle, he did in fact outline an alternative with his observation that negotiations could be resumed if Israel replied "positively" to the Jarring proposals.

Breakdown for US diplomacy in Middle East

From ADAM RAPHAEL: Washington, November 21

President Sadat's bellicose speech is seen here as escalating the Middle East war of words but — in the absence of significant troop movements — not as a direct prelude to armed hostilities.

The State Department would only say publicly that the speech was being evaluated and that clarifications were being sought from Cairo. Privately, diplomatic sources thought it unlikely that Egypt would attempt a canal crossing or break the ceasefire in advance of the United Nations debate on the Middle East which begins on December 1.

Nevertheless, if not an immediate harbinger of war, the speech appeared to mark the breakdown of the United States diplomatic initiative for an interim settlement to open the Suez Canal and the attempt to bring the two sides together for indirect talks in New York. Mr Donald Regan, the head of the US interests section in Cairo, is now reported to have been told that Egypt is no longer prepared to discuss the reopening of the canal until Israel agrees to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and replies to the Jarring memorandum of last February. Even before this, the possibility of an interim peace appeared to fade because of Israel's refusal to proceed until the US had clarified its position on indirect talks and agreed to resume sales of Phantom fighter bombers.

The Administration, which has had a firm policy of saying as little as possible in public, was forced by this impasse last week into acknowledging that Egypt had in the past two weeks received up to 10 T-16 aircraft flown by Soviet pilots. As the Secretary of State, Mr Rogers had publicly praised the Soviet Union less than a week pre-

viously for abjuring "restraint," the statement was made with maximum embarrassment. On Wednesday, the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Dobrynin was called to the State Department and asked to explain by Mr Rogers. What was said is not known but US military analysts are certain that the T-16s, a subsonic twin-engine bomber code-named "Badger," which can be equipped with standoff missiles and fitted as a reconnaissance aircraft, has not changed the balance of power. Indeed, the outdated Badgers of pre-1965 vintage are reported by aviation experts to be minuscule in the Israeli Phantom and the Mirage fighters. The T-16s, Kennel and Kelt missiles, primarily anti-air weapons, are said to be no threat to Israel's navy and have been practically useless for land targets. Thus the mystery why the Soviet Union should choose to stir up the arms race and risk provoking a new round of Phantom deliveries remains unsolved. "Nobody has any real idea why they did it," said one US official, "maybe it is just the easiest way they could reassure the Arabs."

The other diplomatic hurdle facing the Administration is Mrs Meir's proposed visit. The State Department sounded noticeably unenthusiastic about it last week but if she does visit in December, Mr Rogers, if not President Nixon, would almost certainly have to see her. At this stage there appears no weakening in the Administration's resolve to hold up Phantom sales until it is convinced that the balance of power has shifted. President Sadat's speech could have introduced a new factor but the Administration is thought unlikely to be prepared to give up its peace efforts — which is what a new round of Phantom deliveries would signify — so long as there is any hope.

Hell hath no fury...

Mrs Shirley Chisholm, the black Congresswoman from New York who is campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination, yesterday accused some fellow political leaders of trying to sabotage her campaign.

A congressional black caucus, headed by Mr Charles Diggs (Dem. Michigan) has called for a national black political convention in the spring. Mrs Chisholm said this was part of a subtle expression of feeling against her. It was a sign of fake chauvinism.

Colour check on garden jungles

Aldridge-Brownhills, Staffordshire, is to photograph in colour all the untidy gardens in its area to see which tenants do not dig their gardens. It will then decide what action to take against the offenders. "These uncultivated gardens are a nuisance and an eyesore and we are determined to stamp them out," said Councillor Lionel Webb yesterday.



King Hussein of Jordan blows out the candles of his birthday cake. The King was celebrating his 36th birthday

Compromise on Okinawa vote

Tokyo, November 21

The Japanese Government has decided to put its agreement with the United States on the return of Okinawa to a vote on Wednesday, because an Opposition boycott has blocked ratification of the treaty. The Government must force a vote by November 25 to allow the 30 days of deliberations in the Upper House required by the Constitution.

If the Upper House fails to act on the measure in that time it will automatically become law. Opposition parties have been boycotting parliamentary proceedings after the Government forced the agreement through a committee session on a snap vote.

The Government had decided to force a vote in the Lower House on Saturday evening. Opposition members were absent. But a last-minute bid to achieve a compromise finally succeeded, after drawn-out negotiations. Opposition parties and Left-wing radical groups

outside Parliament oppose the agreement because it allows US military bases to remain on the island of Okinawa after its return to Japanese control next year. Okinawa has become a major emotional issue since it was captured by the US in the Second World War and turned into a key military base. For a time, it was used as a base by B-52 bombers raiding Indo-China. Opponents of the Okinawa agreement, already ratified by the US Senate, have staged street demonstrations in Tokyo that have turned into Japan's worst riots for more than a decade.

According to officials, the parliamentary compromise will allow Opposition parties to ask further questions in the committee. Whatever happens, the Speaker of the Lower House has authority to call a plenary session on Wednesday and allow a vote in spite of Opposition objections. Observers believe the Government's reluctance to force the issue through Parliament was caused by a desire to avoid further riots.

Mr Krag leaves

The Prime Minister of Denmark, Mr Jens Otto Krag, left London last night after four days of talks with Mr Heath and other Ministers.

"I had a very satisfactory meeting and exchange of views with Mr Heath," he said at Heathrow Airport. "We talked about the Common Market, the expected membership of Norway and Denmark, and also about other political questions such as the NATO security conference."

Mr Krag flew to Brussels for a meeting with the EEC Commission and for discussions with the Belgian Prime Minister.

Chief Rekalay Rangwene is bitter and disappointed at his reception by the British negotiators here. The chief came to Salisbury from the insular mountain where his tribe has been hiding for a year, to ask Sir Alec Douglas-Home for help. But he has not been permitted to meet the Foreign Secretary. Instead on Friday, while the Foreign Secretary spoke to a group of seven African businessmen describing themselves as "Salisbury citizens," Chief Rekalay was interviewed in the garden by the Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson.

Federal gains in Brussels

Brussels, November 21

French-speaking federalists made a major advance in local elections in the Brussels region today, according to the early returns. If maintained, the voting trend could affect the selection and programme of the next Belgian Government.

More than a million Belgians, a sixth of the total electorate, took part in today's voting and King Baudouin decided not to appoint a Prime Minister designate until the results were known.

First returns gave the federalist Democratic Francophone Front (DFD) more than 50 per cent of the vote in several communes of the capital.

General Elections, two weeks ago, upheld the parliamentary majority of the outgoing Socialist-Christian coalition headed by M. Gaston Eyskens. But it now seems likely that the DFD, allied with a splinter group, will win an overall majority on Brussels city council. This could not be ignored in the formation of the central administration. — Reuters.

Chief says, 'Sir Alec snubbed me'

From PETER NIESEWAND: Salisbury, November 21

The Rangwene's ancestral homeland has been designated "white" in terms of Rhodesia's Land Tenure Act, and the tribe's villages have been destroyed by officials. Chief Rekalay, who has been living in caves and grass shelters for 12 months, said after his failure to see the Foreign Secretary, "I saw their others drive up in their big cars and go in to talk with Sir Alec."

"We held our talks sitting at the end of the garden, in chairs that were still wet from the rain. The British

Smith urges US to buy chrome from Rhodesia

Washington, November 21

Mr Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, in a Magazine interview today, urged President Nixon to permit United States purchases of Rhodesian chrome in defiance of the international trade embargo.

Mr Nixon last week signed legislation that would permit resumption of chrome imports from Rhodesia. But he withheld action to implement it in an apparent effort not to weaken the British hand in the Salisbury negotiations.

In the interview, Mr Smith acknowledged that Rhodesia had been hurt by United Nations sanctions imposed in 1966 after he had broken with Britain.

"In our circumstances I have no hesitation in saying that our problems have been aggravated by the economic war waged against us," Mr Smith said. He argued that most Britons would favour any help the United States gave to Rhodesia.

He said: "I don't think anybody would deny that the majority of people in Britain today are in favour of a settlement. Under those circumstances, anything that the Americans did in our support — in our favour — would have the support of the majority of the people in Britain."

Mr Smith added: "as for the US I would say: Buy Rhodesian Chrome. Resumption of chrome exports from Rhodesia would be a real test of our foreign exchange problems. She would be able to buy from America

certain equipment now denied to her, but rather than buy Communist chrome, Mr Smith said he was not talking about supplies of weapons.

"We have always paid our way in the past and we are happy to pay our way in the future. We're prepared to do the task, wherever it is, to prepare the land, produce the food, fight against communism — if we have access in the tools."

He added: "Our main opponents are the people who are trying to pull us back — members of the free world, who are proving a far greater impediment to our progress than the members of the Communist world. We would like to bring this incredible stupid position to an end."

In reply to a question, Mr Smith said that perhaps the majority of black Africa was not ready for independence. He stressed that not all black politicians thought this was the case.

"It applies to some — may even the majority today. I believe this is a sign of lack of civilisation, of immaturity," Mr Smith added. "I think that in the last few years a position has changed in the correct direction — in the direction of reason. And I believe that with time, with the advance of maturity, the civilisation of these people will be an attitude other than 'I don't get our own way, then answer is to fight.'"

China 'asks to talk'

From MALCOLM DEAN: UN, November 21

France has officially invited China to take part in the Big Four talks on the Middle East. The invitation was issued through the French Embassy in Peking several days after the October 20 vote that sided China in the United Nations according to a report in the "New York Post".

The Big Four have not met since September 5, and although no specific date has been arranged for the next talks, France will be acting as host.

China, who in her maiden address to the United Nations last week, condemned the super powers for making deals behind the backs of the Palestinian would-be, almost certainly rejected any invitation to take part in the talks.

What interests observers is the effect this will have on the Soviet Union, which has not wanted to be seen to be making deals with the West. This could stall a further Big Four talks.

MPs aged 18?

Sixth formers should be eligible to stand for Parliament or as candidates in local elections, according to Mr Marcus Fox, MP (C Shipley), who is to ask the Home Secretary, Mr Maudling, to reduce the minimum age for candidates from 21 to 18.

Manager hurt

Mr Carl Pound, aged 25, shop manager, was detained at Harriet Central Hospital, after he and a colleague had been attacked and robbed of £700 cash and cheques outside Barclays Bank in High Road North, Finchley, London, Saturday night. The three attackers dropped a bag of tanning £300.

TELEVISION

WORLD IN ACTION gave a camera-team to a redundant Welsh foundryman and let him ride the country finding out why he was out of work, why the firm's customers didn't want his product. (ITV 8.0). "Horizon" tells the mysterious story of The Crab Nebula (BBC-2, 9.20). Then Prunella Scales in a sailors' bar in Malta ("Thirty-Minute Theatre," BBC-2, 10.15).

BBC-1

9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools, Colleges: 9.38 Discovering Science: 10.0 Merry-go-Round: 10.25-10.45 Science Extra: Biology: 11.0 Year's Journey: 11.25 Drama. 12 noon-12.30 p.m. Hardy Heetings Co. Ltd. 12.50 p.m. A Chance to Meet Huw Weir. 1.30 Woodentops: Watch with Mother. 4.45-5.53 News. 5.53-5.55 Schools, Colleges: 2.5 Maths Today-Year 1: 2.5 Maths Today-Year 2: 2.5 Maths Workshop-Stage 2: 3.13 Europe on the Move: 3.35 Twentieth Century Focus. 4.10 Prospectus. 4.35 Adventures of Parsley. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.45 Blue Peter. 5.20 Runaway Summer. 5.44 Magic Roundabout. 5.50 News. 6.0 London This Week. 6.20 Entertaining with Kerr. 6.45 Ask the Family. 7.5 Z Cars: "Danny Boy's Home," part 1.

BBC-2

11.0-12.20 a.m. Play School: People at Work—Building. 7.10 p.m. Dressmaking. 7.30 News. 8.30 News and Jones. 8.50 Call my Bluff. 9.20 Horizon: The Crab Nebula. 10.15 Thirty-Minute Theatre: "Blues in the Morning." 10.45 News. 10.50 Late Night Line-Up.

ITV

LONDON (Thames)

10.20 a.m.-12 noon Schools: 10.20 Drama: 11.0 Seeing and Doing: 11.18 Picture Box: 11.38 It's Fun to Read: 11.50 Primary French. 1.40-2.32 p.m. Schools: 1.40 Finding Out: 2.0 Captured Years: 2.10 My World. 2.33 This Week. 3.10 All About Riding. 3.40 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 3.55 Pantomime Place. 4.25 Tea Break. 4.55 Lost in Space. 5.50 News. 6.0 Today: Bill Grundy. 6.20 Crossroads. 6.40 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action: One in a Million—one man's look at unemployment. 8.30 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: "The Affair of the Tortoise." 10.0 News. 10.30 X Film: "Paranoiac," with Janette Scott, Oliver Reed. 12 midnight Women in a Man's World: Patricia Mann, in advertising.

ANGLIA—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 3.35 Katie Stewart Cooks: 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia. 6.30 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

CHANNEL—10.20 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 4.55 Anita in Jumbland. 4.20 Puma's Birthday Greetings. 4.25 Yoga for Health. 4.50 Bush Boy. 5.15

FREEWHEELERS

LONDON (Thames)

10.20 a.m.-12 noon Schools: 10.20 Drama: 11.0 Seeing and Doing: 11.18 Picture Box: 11.38 It's Fun to Read: 11.50 Primary French. 1.40-2.32 p.m. Schools: 1.40 Finding Out: 2.0 Captured Years: 2.10 My World. 2.33 This Week. 3.10 All About Riding. 3.40 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 3.55 Pantomime Place. 4.25 Tea Break. 4.55 Lost in Space. 5.50 News. 6.0 Today: Bill Grundy. 6.20 Crossroads. 6.40 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.0 World in Action: One in a Million—one man's look at unemployment. 8.30 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: "The Affair of the Tortoise." 10.0 News. 10.30 X Film: "Paranoiac," with Janette Scott, Oliver Reed. 12 midnight Women in a Man's World: Patricia Mann, in advertising.

ANGLIA—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 3.35 Katie Stewart Cooks: 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia. 6.30 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

CHANNEL—10.20 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 4.55 Anita in Jumbland. 4.20 Puma's Birthday Greetings. 4.25 Yoga for Health. 4.50 Bush Boy. 5.15

NORTHERN (Granada)—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 3.35 Katie Stewart Cooks: 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia. 6.30 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

SOUTHERN—10.20 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 3.35 Katie Stewart Cooks: 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia. 6.30 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

WEST & WALES (HTV)—11.0 a.m.-2.32 p.m. Schools: 3.35 Katie Stewart Cooks: 4.20 Cartoon. 4.25 Anglia News. 4.30 Romper Room. 4.55 Flipper. 5.15 Free-wheelers. 5.50 News. 6.0 About Anglia. 6.30 Opportunity Knocks! 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.25 Lollipop Loves Mr Mole. 9.0 Rivals of Sherlock Holmes. 10.0 News. 10.30 Probe. 11.5 Champions. 11.58 News Voices.

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RADIO

Pressure on Phnom Penh 'decreasing'

Salon, November 21

North Vietnamese troops were reported here today to have withdrawn from positions threatening Phnom Penh. But there were continued suggestions that South Vietnamese troops would be flown to the Cambodian capital. One report said Communist troops were still harassing the neighbourhood of the capital. At least twenty government soldiers were said to have been killed in a raid 14 miles south-west of the city.

Russians may cut troops

Moscow, November 21

The Soviet Communist Party's central committee is to meet tomorrow to approve the 1972-5 economic plan and the 1972 Budget. The members are also expected to discuss the contents of a major foreign policy speech to be delivered to the Supreme Soviet which goes into session on Wednesday. The speech is likely to stress the progress of the Soviet "peace offensive."

Mr Brezhnev is considered the most likely candidate for delivering the speech. He is expected to re-emphasise Russia's interest in a European security conference in 1972 and may also put forward a definite proposal for troop reductions in Europe.

Some diplomats have suggested that the Kremlin might put pressure on Washington to withdraw troops from Europe by declaring a token unilateral Soviet troop cut in Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The Supreme Soviet meeting has also to approve the five-year economic plan and next year's budget. Details of the Budget proposals have not been disclosed.

The economic plan was submitted to the twenty-fourth Communist Party congress in April. It promised a new deal for the Soviet consumer with its neglecting heavy industry and defence needs. The Prime Minister, Mr Kosygin, explained, "The main task of the five-year plan is to ensure a considerable rise in the people's material and cultural level."

UPI. Victor Zorza writes, page 11

IF PRESIDENT Yahya Khan was waving palm fronds at the Indians in his speech calling for better relations between the two countries he seems to have achieved little more here than to create a chill wind. There has been no official reaction — ironically the Indians celebrate the same Moslem festival as the Pakistanis — but there is no reason to doubt that the Government will react in much the same way as the cocktail parties and bazars of Delhi.

The speech is seen here as directed at the world at large and at the West Pakistanis, calculated to demonstrate that Yahya has done everything humanly possible to resolve the tensions and, if war comes, will have been forced into it. It is a call for the return of the 10 million refugees in West Bengal who left their homes and hearths in a moment of fear and panic. It is regarded with near amazement and so is his plea for Indian cooperation in the resettlement.

Delhi sticks firmly to its view that the problem of East Pakistan is an internal matter for Pakistan and that Yahya is simply trying to get himself off the hook by internationalising it. In its simplest form the argument is that the restoration of normality in the East, with the consequent reassurance for the refugees that they can return to their homes, will resolve that part of the crisis which most affects India. But it all hangs entirely on action in Islamabad.

The schizophrenic attitude

While the danger to Kashmir continues to preoccupy India, there are signs that Peking is courting Bangla Desh. Harold Jackson reports from New Delhi.

Menaces from left and right

here was neatly epitomised this morning when, bang on nine o'clock the air raid sirens wailed out over the city and everyone promptly ignored them. By no stretch of the imagination could one describe the atmosphere as one of war fever, though the possibility of major fighting is discussed widely in a cool sort of way. The estimates of when it might come vary from three weeks to six months, with equally convincing arguments to back such guesses.

The right wing, or some hits of it, positively want a war. This is partly to avenge the atrocious on Indians, which get wide coverage in the newspapers here and are impossible to assess objectively. It is also to get rid of the menace of Pakistan once and for all by supporting the establishment of Bangla Desh as an independent nation and mortally crippling Pakistan's military and economic position.

It has the attraction of all simplistic solutions to complex problems, but is a minority view. The more thoughtful Indians accept that the problem of Bangla Desh is inseparable from that of Kashmir, and that India has little to gain

from action on the Eastern front. It is generally accepted that the military aspect of the East Pakistan problem offers few difficulties, though there is some scepticism about the more rose-tinted army assessments of the speed with which the campaign would be completed.

But an Eastern campaign would inevitably be followed by a Pakistani counter-attack in the West, which for all practical purposes means Kashmir. No one doubts that, as in 1965, this would swiftly bring in the United Nations and the Big Powers, who have no appetite at all for monkey business in this highly sensitive strategic area.

One possible aspect of any subsequent negotiated settlement could well be a call for a referendum in East Bengal to determine its future status. And that, without question, would be followed very smartly by a Pakistani call for a referendum in Kashmir.

Just as the Awami League's election victory in East Bengal and its aftermath leaves little doubt about the outcome of any vote there, so the 90 per cent Moslem population in the Vale of Kashmir makes any dis-

cussion of a Kashmir referendum pretty academic. Pakistan's loss of its eastern wing would be countered by India's loss of an area which has been the main invasion route of just about every conqueror of the sub-continent. Quite apart from the strategic implications, the political consequences within India could not be countenanced for a moment.

So Mrs Gandhi pursues a policy of wait and see and tries to stir the world to bring pressure on Yahya Khan to deal with his own problems. The messages which have gone to him from the British and others by diplomatic sources have been said to be pretty crisp in tone, which may have some bearing on his weekend speech. Reports say that the first version of the speech did not carry the placatory paragraphs and that it was amended later. Whether this represents some sort of diplomatic deal is anyone's guess.

The main question is what attitude the Chinese would adopt and to what extent they would be prepared to buff and puff on India's northern border to draw pressure away from the Pakistan forces in the West. They seem to be playing it all

ways at once, in one breath responding favourably to India's idea of restoring ambassadorial representation and in the next attacking Indian interference in Pakistan's affairs at the United Nations.

Some diplomatic observers think the Chinese have now written Yahya off as a lower and are simply letting him down gently, and this is to some degree supported by such indications as Chou En-lai's response to Mrs Gandhi's message of congratulation on China's accession to the UN. He did not have to be quite so fulsome in his hope that friendship between the two countries would "grow and develop daily," particularly in the present circumstances.

There are also suspicions that the Chinese have started moving closer to the Bangla Desh "Government" in Calcutta and that gift packages are arriving for the Mukti Bahini forces operating against the Pakistan army in the East.

● Reuters reports from New Delhi that Pakistani shell-fire killed four Indian civilians and wounded nine others in the Assam border town of Karimganj, according to an official statement.

Russia delays Namibia ruling

From ANTHONY ASTRACHAN

United Nations, November 21

The Russians are reported to be holding up a meeting of the Security Council because it might give the Secretary-General more political power in a particular case than they think he should have in any circumstances.

The issue is Namibia (South-west Africa) and, according to Western and African diplomats, if the question came to a showdown, it could pit the Russians against the Chinese for influence among the African nations. A compromise is expected.

The Secretary-General has vaguely defined political powers under the UN Charter. The Soviet Union has long tried to keep their actual scope as narrow as possible and subject to the veto.

It therefore opposes an Argentine draft resolution that would invite the Secretary-General, acting on behalf of the United Nations, to initiate contacts with all parties concerned to enable the people of Namibia to achieve self-determination and independence. That would include contacts with South Africa, which governs Namibia under a League of Nations Mandate and denies UN competence to intervene.

The Russians are said to want a committee of the Security Council, or possibly its president, to act on behalf of the United Nations rather than the Secretary-General. They have therefore opposed the summoning of a meeting until there is agreement on a revision of the Argentine draft.

There is additional impetus for a meeting because it would be the first attended by the Peking delegation. The Chinese are reported to have voiced no objection to a meeting on the basis of the Argentine draft. The United States is also willing to meet on that basis.

African diplomats said they were attempting to work out a compromise under which the Secretary-General and a council committee would act jointly on behalf of the United Nations.

Portugal prefers to talk about self-determination for separate peoples, however, and the United Nations have called for self-determination for Namibia as a whole.

South Africa has not committed itself to talk to a Security Council delegation. Its willingness would undoubtedly be affected by who is in the delegation. — Washington Post.

Major Czech writers shun hard line union

From OSGOOD CARRUTHERS: Vienna, November 21

After months of fruitless efforts to get Prague's better-known writers to adopt the Moscow line of the regime, the Czech Ministry of Culture has finally pushed through the formation of a new writers' union — without them.

The official news agency in Prague announced the formation of the new union for the Czech, or Bohemian, part of the Czechoslovak federation, to replace the organisation disbanded last January because most of its members continued to hold to the reformist ideas of the "Prague spring" of 1968.

The present Czech Minister of Culture, Milo Brzdek, an orthodox, hard-line Communist, has been trying desperately to hammer together a new union that would have some literary respectability while adhering strictly to the new Moscow-inspired policy of "Socialist realism." None of the more

prominent writers would take part in the formation of the new union in spite of heavy pressures, threats, and even the boycott of their works, by the regime.

The Culture Minister finally persuaded an ageing Communist poet, Josef Kainar, to take the chairmanship of a preparatory committee that has been holding closed and reportedly stormy meetings off and on since May in Dobruška, a handsome retreat set aside for the writers. Kainar died last Tuesday, only four days before his efforts came to completion.

The announcement of the formation of the new union mentioned that 90 members had been admitted, but gave no indication of its total size or of who would head it after Kainar's death. But a statement issued by the new union pointed clearly to the fact that

the founders, and the Ministry of Culture, had not succeeded in attracting the more prominent Czech writers — nearly all of whom are associated with the 1968 liberalisation movement that was crushed by the Soviet invasion. The old union abolished by the Ministry of the Interior had more than five hundred members.

The statement said that the struggle of "progressive forces" against "right-wing opportunism" was far from completed.

With the more prominent and more talented writers of Czechoslovakia continuing to refuse to play ball with the Minister of Culture, their works are no longer being published in the country. The prospect for readers in Prague would seem to be literary fare bleakly reminiscent of the classic Stalinist theme of love on a tractor. — Los Angeles Times.

Priests in Mao tunics

THE CHINESE Catholic Church, known since 1951 as the Catholic Patriotic Association, does not acknowledge papal supremacy, and chooses its own bishops, according to a report by the Peking correspondent of the Italian agency Ansa.

The report says the church claims two million members, has freedom of worship. Priests wear Mao-style tunics with clerical collars, but there has been no ordination since 1963.

Relations with the Communist Party are good.

The report described a mass in Peking Cathedral, attended by an Italian MP and the Italian chargé d'affaires. After the mass, celebrated in Latin a priest told the Italians: "Even if the Communist Party does not believe in God that does not cause any break between us and the Communists." — Reuters.

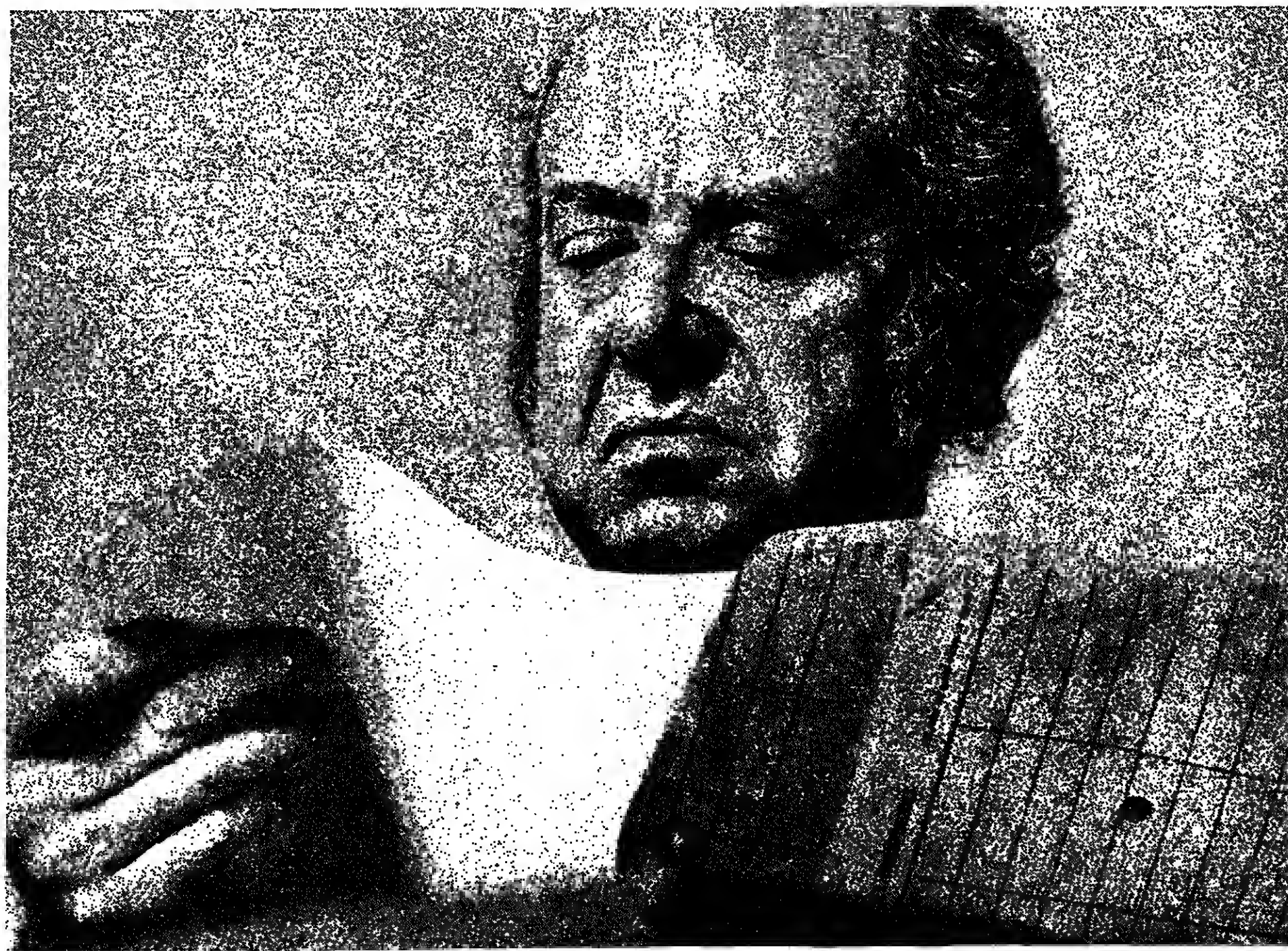
Station bomb hurts 14

Zurich, November 21

A disgruntled unemployed labourer took a hold-all containing a home-made bomb into the main railway station here late on Saturday night, put it into a luggage locker, lit the fuse, locked the door and walked off. Smoke poured out of the locker for several minutes, then the charge — 17½ lb. of high explosive — went off, injuring 14 people and causing damage estimated at a million Swiss francs (£104,000). Police said today that those hurt, who included four women, suffered only minor cuts and shock.

Twenty-five minutes after the blast, a 47-year-old bachelor, of no fixed address, walked into a police station and confessed to planting the bomb. A police spokesman said the man had had repeated brushes with officialdom since 1960, and clearly acted "out of hatred against the police and local authorities." — UPI and Reuters.

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Dublin: 2 Dawson Street, Dublin 2. Tel. 770701
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Newcastle: 5th Floor, Bridge Tower, Church Street, Gateshead NE8 2DU. Tel. 0632 70311/4

Engineers put in phones free for disabled

By KEITH HARPER

Post Office engineers throughout Wales have volunteered to work without pay to install telephones for the physically sick and disabled. If the experiment is successful, it is likely to spread to other parts of Britain.

The scheme is the outcome of an agreement negotiated between the Post Office Engineering Union and the Wales and Marches Telecommunications Board. The Board has agreed to cut the charge for connection by 50 per cent, provided the work is in the normal range of connection charges.

This initiative in helping disabled people to maintain contact with friends was prompted by the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act passed last year.

One of its sections enables local authorities to provide telephones for disabled people, but the introduction of local authority telephones has been extremely disappointing. In an attempt to stimulate a greater response by local authorities, the union consulted with the Post Office. Together they examined ways in which action under the Act could be encouraged.

Their discussions resulted in an agreement that POEU members would install telephones after normal working hours, during the evenings, and on weekends. The Board has agreed to make vehicles and materials available to the volunteer engineers. The maximum connection charge of £25 will be reduced to £12.50.

Lord Delacourt-Smith,

A real line on teacher training

By MARK ARNOLD-FORSTER

THE ESSENCE of the teacher's job is to communicate knowledge to a sea of faces, with a person behind each face: the "classroom coalface" is where it all begins. But does the British teacher-training system prepare teachers to build for themselves the very difficult human relationships that they will need before they can start imparting their knowledge?

The authors of a book published today think not. Their findings confirm that trained teachers do not on the whole believe that their training has been adequate to prepare them for the coalface—and the authors agree with the teachers.

Unlike the James Committee, which is looking into teacher training as a whole, the authors have consulted people as distinct from institutions. The James Committee has yet to report, but unless it is luckier than other committees its members will spend more time than will have been good for them talking to the leaders of organised opinion, and not enough talking to persons.

This book is a frank attempt to influence the committee and to tell it where to look. Most of the book's authors are journalists concerned with education—including the Guardian's Education Correspondent—and are trained to investigate if not to teach.

"The voice we need to heed is the voice of the classroom teacher," says Mr Bruce Kemble, the editor and co-author of the book. "Today's teachers are the first people we should turn to when we want to find the answer to the question 'Is the present training system producing the right sort of teachers?'"

The authors' main conclusion is that, for one reason or another, the colleges of education have done too little to prepare their students for the coalface. The colleges have concentrated on the methodology of teaching at the expense of the sociology.

The most interesting recommendation is that, at the end of their second year of training, students who want to teach should do a practical year in schools, a year in which their status would resemble that of medical students in a teaching hospital. In any way, their status would be comparatively low. Students who had decided by the end of their second year that they did not want to teach after all would be able to study for an ordinary degree in a third academic year.

This, the authors suggest, would meet the teachers' complaint that their qualification does not qualify for any other job except teaching. A theologian who loses his faith on graduation day can always do something else. A teacher who loses his enthusiasm as the coalface gets nearer is stuck with a qualification which says that that is the only thing for which he has been trained even if, as this book suggests, he has not.

The contributors to the book include Richard Boorne and John Eard of the Guardian, Nicholas Bagnall, Ronald Deadman, Alex Evans, David Fletcher, Keith Gardner, Eric Midwinter, Maureen O'Connor, Gordon Pemberton, Michael Pollard, Michael Storm, Shirley Toulson, and Frances Verrinder.

"Fit to Teach," a private inquiry into the training of teachers, edited by Bruce Kemble, Hutchinson, 65p.



Mrs Eleanora Essens, whose dismembered body was found in a shallow grave on a golf course at Leatherhead, in Surrey, last September. Mrs Essens disappeared from her home in Mansfield seven years ago. It is believed that she may have worked in central London, possibly in Soho, for at least part of the time and until shortly before her death.

'Barbaric' method of birth control

Mrs Renée Short, Labour MP for Wolverhampton North-east, yesterday criticised the withdrawal method of birth control, used by 34 per cent of couples interviewed in a recent survey, as "barbaric, unsatisfying, and unsafe," and said she hoped sterilisation of men would become available in National Health Service.

Mrs Short said that the survey showed there was still a lot of opposition to the Pill because of the publicity given to the minority of cases where blood clotting had occurred. "The withdrawal business is a barbaric method," she said. "It is not certain or safe, and leads to unwanted pregnancies."

"It is very unsatisfying for the wife and unsatisfactory for the husband and it required concentration on doing something that all the instincts want you to forget to do. It is unnatural both for the man and the woman."

She said the report of the survey, published by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, underlined the need for more to be done under the National Health Service. Sterilisation of men was a very safe method, was a far less difficult and dangerous operation than sterilising women, and did not affect the man's ability to have intercourse.

Shropshire county council

Abortion 'normal as a hairdo'

Women now talked about abortions as if they were having a shampoo and set to make them look better, Mr Joseph Jordan, a lecturer in obstetrics and gynaecology said at the University of Birmingham yesterday, at a meeting organised by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child.

There should be a very good reason for termination of pregnancy, he said—not just the fact that the pregnancy is inconvenient, which is really why most abortions are carried out. Mr Jordan predicted a total of 120,000 recorded abortions—legal abortions—this year, compared with 100,000 live births.

"The British public is being taught to think of the foetus as a blob of jelly or a ball of cells. It is not. It is an unborn child, and there are a growing number of us determined to fight to defend it until we get the law changed."

Mr Jordan, who also practises as a gynaecologist in Birmingham added: "It is well known that I will carry out terminations for genuine medical indications, and that I run a family planning clinic. Like a number of others, therefore, some three years ago I was offered fees of about £12,500 a year for half a day's work a week."

"I do not imagine that I was a hero in refusing, but I consider it an impudence when doctors like myself are attacked by the ilk of Mr David Steel MP or by the Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service, because we do not do enough abortions. They talk as though we were swatting flies, instead of destroying human lives, which is what abortion means."

"I believe that abortion is not, and has never meant to be, a method of contraception."

Grey leads protest

Mr Anthony Grey, the former Reuter correspondent who was held hostage in Peking for 26 months, led one of the delegations from Amnesty International which visited embassies in London at the weekend on behalf of nine prisoners of conscience.

Mr Grey, who joined Amnesty a year ago, went to the Paraguayan Embassy to deliver a plea for Julio Rojas who has been in prison for 12 years without being charged or tried.

Private out-patients row

Birmingham Regional Hospital Board will be asked on Wednesday to allow private out-patient treatment at nine hospitals in its area.

Private work at two of the centres, Good Hope Hospital, Sutton Coldfield, and the Bromsgrove General Hospital, was stopped earlier this year because "formal consent" had not been given. The applications—which are recommended for

acceptance by the planning committee—follow the refusal by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary for Social Services, to establish an independent inquiry into the amount of private work being carried on at the board's hospitals.

A Birmingham councillor, Miss Sheila Wright, a member of the board, gave warning yesterday that she will oppose the applications. She will be supported by Mr Leslie Huckfield, Labour MP for Nuneaton, who is pressing the Minister for an inquiry.

Councillor Mrs Theresa Stewart, former member of the board who lost her place after a campaign against pay beds, said the applications were "an attempt to legalise a situation where private out-patient work has been carried on without authority."

Mystery planner named

The identity of the author of plan on today to build a city or a million people near Nuneaton was disclosed yesterday by Mr Hubert de Cronin Hastings, winner of this year's Royal Institute of British Architects old medal, the premier architectural prize in Britain.

The project, deliberately fed among colliery slag heaps and water-filled quarries, to transform and maximise the use of existing land, appears under the pseudonym Ivor de Wolfe. This is a slight alteration of his normal nom-de-plume, Ivor de Rolfe.

A spokesman for Mr Hastings, chairman of the Architectural Press, publishers of the *Urban Man*, said: "I think it is a sort of joke. He always uses assumed names, but this is the first time he has used 'Ivor de Wolfe'."

He said Mr Hastings was a man of retiring disposition and did not give interviews. His ward was for "drawing attention to many of the most crucial and controversial issues that we concerned the architectural profession in this country."

Mr Hastings' project would occupy an area of four miles square at Heathhill, near Nuneaton. High density housing would be built on the side of huge heap of colliery waste and the entire city would be contained.

'No right' to Welsh in court

By our own Reporter

The Lord Chancellor has told the London branch of Plaid Cymru—the Welsh Nationalist Party—that no one present in court has the right to insist that others speak his language. He was replying to a request for a statement on the use of the Welsh language in court.

The Lord Chancellor's statement says that under the Welsh Language Act, 1967, any party, witness, or other person can speak in Welsh during legal proceedings. Notice must be given if the proceedings are in any court other than a magistrates' court.

Practical difficulties should be taken into account, the statement continues, because, although every effort is made, it is not always possible to ensure that every judge in every case in Wales can speak Welsh. "Again, there are relatively few advocates able to speak Welsh fluently, and the materials to enable them to develop their arguments in that language, including textbooks, authority, and even legal terminology, are limited."

It is also very difficult to find shorthand writers able to record the proceedings in Welsh, and not all courts in Wales are wired for sound.

Engine trouble

The new £10 millions cruise liner, Cunard Adventurer, has developed propeller trouble on her maiden voyage.

The Dutch-built 14,155-ton liner, which left Southampton on Friday with 250 American passengers bound for San Juan in the Caribbean, should have reached Lisbon yesterday afternoon. Cunard said she would not arrive until tonight.

Taxing lessons of VAT

GUARDIAN Business Services is to present a two-day seminar on value added tax to the National Liberal Club, London, on December 7 and 8. The seminar will give delegates a thorough grounding in the principles of VAT as it is applied to the UK, and also comparison with the systems already established in France and Denmark. These objectives are

GUARDIAN BUSINESS SERVICES

reflected by the speakers: Jean-Claude Goldsmith, senior partner of a French firm of international lawyers; Clifford Joseph, who has made a special study of VAT; Svend Oppenheim, partner in a Copenhagen firm of international lawyers specialising

in company and taxation law; an executive from the National Cash Register Company's VAT specialist team; and a Customs and Excise official.

Full details may be obtained from the Registrar, but early application to Guardian Business Services Ltd, 21 Grafton Street, London WC1 (phone: 01-337 7011 Extn 316) is advised.

RSPCA goes on attack

The RSPCA is to press the Home Secretary to introduce legislation which will give the society powers to inspect the country's thousands of breeding establishments at dog and other animal breed-

ing establishments are immune at present against criticism because there is no legal power of entry. Although the RSPCA knows of the existence of bad breeding establishments, it is unable to prosecute.

The chairman of the RSPCA, Mr John Robhouse, said in London yesterday that the society's 216 inspectors had been asked to compile detailed reports of all known and suspected breeding establishments in their areas, as a first move in "our all-out war to seek the closure of these vile breeding places."

He said: "We seek an amendment of the present law which, while it permits the inspection of kennels, does not provide for the inspection of breeding establishments."

Inspector evidence will be given to the Home Secretary, and backed in the New Year by a film which, Mr Robhouse said, disclosed a horrifying state of affairs.

"This film sequence shows how dogs are crammed together in packing cases with dozens of other animals lying dead on the floor and others still in a half-starved condition," Mr Robhouse said. "The public have little idea just how bad things are. We managed, for instance, to get inside one establishment in the Bath area. Dogs were crammed together in batches of eight or nine in small containers which had been nailed up. Others were dead and the whole place was filthy."

Mr Robhouse said that many of the thousands of breeding establishments in the country were being run in such a "revolting and cruel manner."

The RSPCA would no longer rely on Private Members' Bills to get legislation through Parliament. "Instead we shall prepare our own evidence, back cases and go ahead ourselves."

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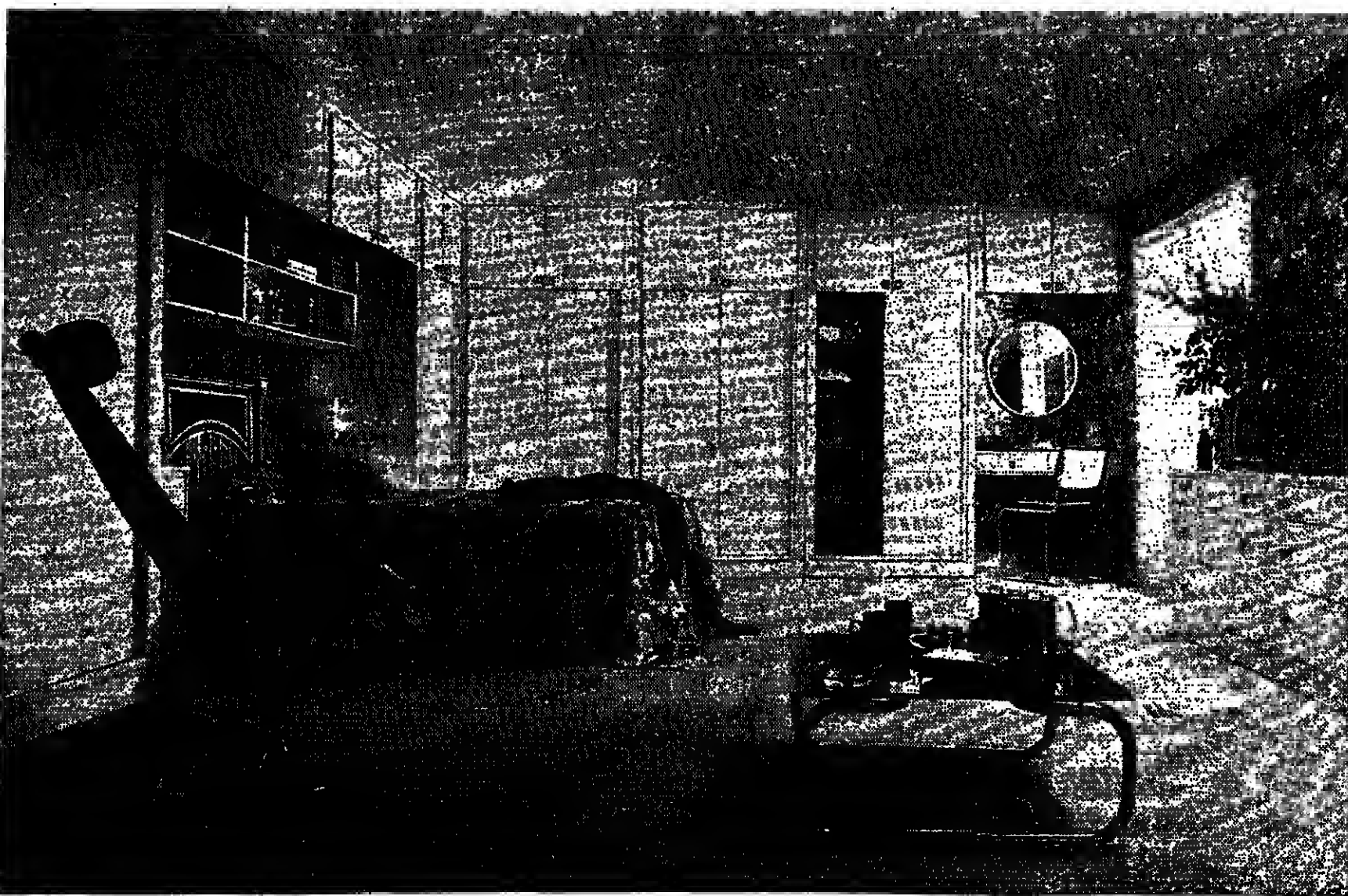
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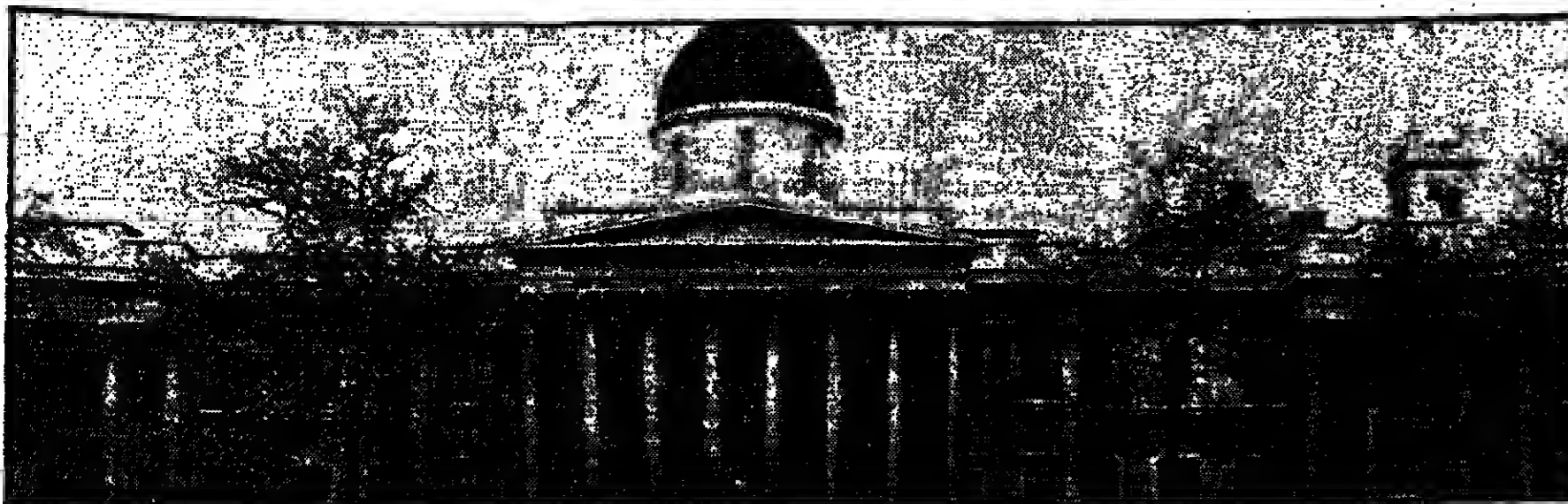


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Today the House of Lords starts to debate enabling legislation to force art galleries and museums to charge the public for admission. Here, Andrew Faulds, M.P., presents the evidence of a precedent for the National Gallery trustees to resist Lord Eccles.

BEFORE 1880 the National Gallery was closed on Thursdays and Fridays of every week, when "students" (the vast majority being copyists) were admitted by previous arrangement with the Keeper, naturally without paying any charge. In 1880 there was pressure in Parliament that the Gallery should be opened to the general public also on those days, but, since the number of copyists (with their easels and impedimenta) could at that date run into hundreds and the building was then hardly more than half the size of the present one, there were practical objections of a physical nature to allowing the public the same freedom of access which they enjoyed on other days of the week.

Accordingly, though a decision was made to open the Gallery on students' days to the general public, their numbers were limited to some extent by levying a charge of sixpence; this system survived until the outbreak of the Second World War, when the number of copyists requesting facilities had become few and far between. When the matter was reconsidered after the end of hostilities, it was wisely decided that, since the original reasons for the system had virtually disappeared, it had better not be revived.

It should be emphasised that the reason for this charge on the so-called "students" days was not the raising of funds from the public. But there was one short-lived incident, the only one of its kind in the whole history of the National Gallery, when the raising of funds was in fact the declared object of charging the public for admission. Since this episode, which lasted for no more than three years (1921-4), constitutes the sole genuine precedent for the present Government's scheme, it may be profitable to consider how the then Government and the then Trustees addressed themselves to the problem, and to the principles which are implicit in it. At that time the financial affairs of the Tate Gallery were under the jurisdiction of the National Gallery Board, and so the correspondence to which I wish to draw attention, and the inferences which arise from it, applied—and still apply—to the daughter institution.

The correspondence was opened by a letter of November 10, 1920, written by the Keeper of the National Gallery on behalf of the Board to the Treasury (the Department then responsible in Parliament). This pointed out that the annual purchase grant for both Galleries (amounting to the not very princely sum of £5,000) was quite inadequate, and pressed for an increase. The Treasury's reply, dated December 18, absolutely declined to increase the grant, but stated that if further funds were to be made available for the purchase of pictures, they must be sought in other directions, such as "by an increase in the charge to the public on paying days or by an extension of the paying days to Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays."



'It is for the Trustees to consider'

The Treasury letter continued: "Any funds derived in this way would be appropriated in aid of the Vote but My Lords would be willing to increase the Purchase Grant in Aid by the amount of the sum so appropriated in any year. I am, however, to make it clear that My Lords cannot undertake the sole responsibility for the introduction of such a scheme; it is for the Trustees to consider carefully whether the necessity for increasing the funds available for purchases is so great as to outweigh the obvious objections to restricting the facilities which the public enjoy for free attendance at the National Collections. It would be necessary to maintain two free days, which might be Saturday and Sunday, and not to withdraw any existing privileges of bona fide art students and contributors to the National Art Collections Fund. Should the Trustees consider that on the whole the change is desirable, they should submit detailed proposals, including estimates, for the final decision of Their Lordships."

A reply to this was sent by the Director on January 12, 1921, stating that the Board was willing to accept the Treasury's suggestions with certain modifications "on the clear understanding that the addition to the number of paying days is to be regarded as a temporary measure to meet a period of exceptional financial stringency. On this condition the Board would agree that the number of paying days should be increased from two to four."

As it turned out, however, the Treasury would only allow the proceeds from the extra two days to be devoted to the purchase funds, but the Trustees refrained from recouping some of this loss by taking up the Treasury's suggestion that if they imposed charges on a third additional day they could retain the proceeds. The Treasury's approval of what had been negotiated with the Board was given in a letter

Andrew Faulds on Sir John Witt, chairman of the National Gallery: "... lending support... to the unjustifiable smokescreen which the Government has so long persisted in maintaining."



On Sir Julian Huxley: 'Sir Julian also gave his support to the principle of allowing free access at least one day a week...'



On Lord Eccles: '... gratuitously offensive (in) stating that since the trustees "get all the money from the Government they always agree with the Government over the general picture..."'

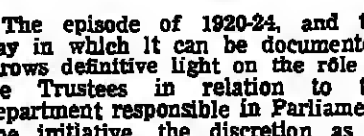


of February 7, 1921, in which the Lords Commissioners went on record as giving their assent to the allocation for the purchase of pictures "of any increased receipt derived from imposing entrance fees on such additional days (or increased rates of entrance) as the Trustees of the Galleries in question may in their discretion (subject to Their Lordships' consent) determine."

The scheme thus negotiated between the Board and the Treasury, having been inaugurated on April 1, 1921, was the subject of comment by the then Chairman of the National Art Collections Funds at its annual general meeting shortly afterwards. Though acknowledging the attractions of securing an addition in this way to the purchase grant, he observed that the charges given added value to the pictures accorded to our members of free entrance, but, on the whole, I cannot think the step is one which is really in the best interest of art. Indeed it would seem that it was as a consequence of an initiative from the Fund, which did it honour that the Board of the National Gallery set in train negotiations to obtain from the Treasury an increase in the purchase grant equivalent to the income received from the charges.

At the annual general meeting of the Fund in 1923 its Chairman said: "It is high time to put an end to these two extra pay days at the National Gallery. They were imposed as a temporary measure, have lasted too long, and should be speedily abolished."

And in the end the Treasury agreed to increase the purchase grant proportionately from April 1, 1924, when the charges in question were in fact abolished by the Board of the National Gallery.



The initiative, the discretion, the power

The episode of 1920-24, and the way in which it can be documented, throws definitive light on the role of the Trustees in relation to the Department responsible in Parliament. The initiative, the discretion as to detail, and the decisive power to determine are seen to be accepted by both parties as resting with the Trustees, who for their part have due regard for the necessity for Departmental consent for any measures in the field of public finance. But in spite of the fact that the present Government was under an evident obligation to make this clear to the Trustees and to the general public (especially in circumstances when the Government was insisting on the Trustees adopting a controversial policy for which their endorsement was not forthcoming), it proved exceptionally difficult over a period of weeks and even months to extract any statement from the Government admitting the independent nature of the Trustees' status and powers, on which, however, as it eventually transpired, the Government proposed to rely for the implementation of its policy.

Even odder, and scarcely redeeming to the credit and good judgment of the present Chairman of the

National Gallery (Sir John Witt) was his unhelpful attitude towards my request to arrange for the staff of the Gallery to provide me with copies of the official correspondence preceding the imposition of charges in 1921. He replied that he did not "think it would be right" to do so, and though I pressed him to give more substantial reasons than his personal opinion for denying facilities which I have no ground for believing that the staff would have been unwilling to extend to a Member of Parliament in exercising his functions, the Chairman persisted in adhering to his view without condescending to offer any explanation whatsoever.



'Entirely wrong and improper'

Two conceivable reasons for this curious attitude turned out to be without validity. First, since I was eventually able to ascertain that the counterparts of this correspondence, originating from the Treasury files, were accessible without let or hindrance in the Public Record Office, the correspondence in question could in no sense be claimed as confidential. Secondly, in a written answer to a Parliamentary Question on November 11, the Secretary of State replied to me (under the somewhat casually inaccurate heading "Tate Gallery") that authority from her for the Chairman's attitude was not sought and is not required.

The consequence is, therefore, that we are left with the disturbing fact that the Chairman of the National Gallery so misconceived his responsibilities in that hitherto independent office as to fail to realise that, far from being right and proper, it was entirely wrong and improper to adopt the attitude which he did. The correspondence of 1920-1 reveals clearly a fact which the Government has consistently sought to play down as much as possible, namely, that the National Gallery Board is in no sense an appendage of any Government Department. What are we to make of a Chairman who conducts himself in such a manner as to lend such support as he can muster (without, indeed, any "authority" from the Secretary of State herself being given or required) to the unjustifiable smokescreen which the Government has so long persisted in maintaining over the question?

Apart from the testimony which the correspondence of 1920-1 affords on the subject of the status of the Board, two other important considerations clearly emerge from it. The first is that the objections of the Under-Secretary to the receipts from the charges being made available to the individual institutions cannot be sustained; when replying to Questions on November 19, 1970, he referred to "the difficulty of specifically allocating to a specific object charges raised in this particular way." But it would now appear that there is no genuine "difficulty" in providing for the proceeds to go to the institutions; there is merely lack of willingness to facilitate it. In this connection I would refer to a letter, published in the "Times" on October 30, 1970, from the President of the

Museums Association, in which he stated that, whatever differences there might be over the admissibility of entrance charges, he believed that there was one condition that his colleagues would unanimously agree to be absolutely vital, namely, that any money thus taken should be added to the funds of the museum concerned.

Few could doubt that this view is indeed held by the British curatorial profession as a whole, and that the vast majority of the museum-going public would have every sympathy with it. In addition, readers of the Guardian may be reminded that it also has the endorsement of Sir Julian Huxley, FRS, a former Director-General of UNESCO; in his letter, published on October 26, Sir Julian also gave his support to the principle of allowing free access to the National Gallery on at least one day a week, as the Trustees have stated that they desire, and as is the normal practice in museums abroad which do charge.

This brings us to the second consideration which transpired very clearly from the correspondence of 1920-1, which is that both the Department and the Gallery took for granted the principle of partial free access for the public. Certainly the National Gallery was rather more in favour of it, since it was prepared to forgo the financial proceeds from still another day offered it by the Department, but the latter evidently had no desire whatever to dispute the validity of the concept. Unfortunately these problems are not as sensibly approached today, when the Minister responsible confronts us with the specious, and self-contradictory, argument that on the one hand the resultant loss of revenue would be such that the Treasury could not afford, and that (on the other) the majority of the institutions are so constructed as to be unable to contend, from the security point of view, with the overcrowding which would result.

The obvious answer to this is that, since the new attitude towards the individual Boards in this matter is now at long last acknowledged, the particular judgment of each on the security aspect ought evidently to be deferred to.

Let us now return to the National Gallery, the comments of whose Board on the question of admission charges, dated March 4, 1971, appeared on pages 19-20 of the Report published at the beginning of last July. In this, their only public pronouncement on the topic which exists up to the moment of writing, they make it perfectly clear that they "consider that there should be at least one free day in the week." In the meantime, however, the Minister responsible, who has continued to resist the concept of a free day even after his arguments against it have so largely collapsed, has been expressing from time to time his confidence that the Trustees (obviously jettisoning their independence) will do just whatever he says, in every respect.

The latest manifestation of this, in the House of Lords on October 18, 1971, took the gratuitously offensive form of stating that since the Trustees "get all the money from the Government they always agree with the Government over the general picture."

The point which requires emphasis here is that while some might consider it possible to argue in favour of compliance, even if reluctantly, with the general policy of a Government, almost all thoughtful people would regard it as undignified and unbecomingly outrageous, for any Government to insist that bodies which had hitherto enjoyed justifiable independence in matters of detail, should comply with every single ministerial ipse dixit in this regard.



The moment of urgent need

For the evident fact is that the function of Trustees for the nation is to have proper regard to the interests of the public as they conceive them, as well as the requirements of the Government. And how can the present Government go through the motions of wishing verbal success to the Trustees' Appeal for the Titian with any semblance of sincerity, as long as the Minister remains unwilling to make the gesture of taking the minimal practical step of withdrawing the objections which he has previously raised to a now relatively uncostly free day? That is of the Trustees' objections to the Under-Secretary to the National Gallery exercising, as they desire, a power which is demonstrably and admittedly within their entire discretion and competence? And when also (if one may express a hope) are the Trustees going to make it clear to the public to whom they are about to appeal that they have summoned up the courage of their convictions in this respect? Such action would without question strengthen the Board's credentials in the eyes of the public at the very moment when the need for this has become most urgent.

review



Owen Brannigan: QEH

NEW VICTORIA

Robin Denselow

B. B. King

B. B. KING, possibly the most commercially successful artist in the entire history of the Blues, is moving on yet again. Over the past two years (particularly since his American tour with the Rolling Stones) he has become accepted — quite simply — as the greatest amplified Blues guitarist in the world. Once the little-known inspiration behind Clapton, Bloomfield, and dozens of other contemporary rock musicians, he has finally, at the age of 43, become a super-star in his own right — for predominantly white audiences. Chuck Berry injected white rock with black R and B; King is, an equal influence — he's moved the finest Chicago Blues-playing from city clubs to rock festivals.

He's always admitted to being ambitious, and could be that, too, for the more his guitar enthusiasts of the world is now not enough for him. At a rare British appearance at the New Victoria on Saturday he startled some of the more dedicated Blues fans by his decidedly popular approach. His guitar work was as dazzling as ever, leading and dominating a seven-piece band with clean, clear playing that ranged from delicate solos to thunderous rolling blues. At the same time he seemed particularly determined to project himself as a personality: eyes shut, face screwed up while he played, guitar half hidden by his massive form, and with a wry, humorous approach when ever he began singing. His choice of material, too, is beginning to widen. Mean city blues were interspersed with songs like "Humming Bird" which was treated very much in standard cabaret style until he stopped singing and began playing guitar. It seemed, in fact, that he was now bidding for the throne vacated by the late Louis Armstrong. It's quite possible that he'll make it: I just hope it doesn't affect his superb guitar work.

FANNY sounds like a had joke, the rock bottom in rock gimmickry. They are the world's first all-female, highly-amplified band: lead guitar, bass, drums and organ played by four strikingly young good-looking women who are based, predictably, in Los Angeles. They come on like a take-off of the all-girl spoof group in "Beyond the Valley of the Dolls." At their opening concert at the Speakeasy, June and Jean — two Filipino sisters — shook long black hair over their guitars while P.M. men patrolled the room discussing the market potential of such a novelty.

Luckily they began to play before the scene became too ludicrous, and confused almost everyone by playing astonishingly well. That may sound like the typical British chauvinism, but one doesn't expect such an obviously gimmicky group to display anything approaching the tightness of the Band, the harmonising of Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, or the attack of the Stones. Not that they are in the same league as any of those bands, but what P.M. learnt from them all, and their fresh driving style puts them firmly in the contemporary rock mainstream.

On stage, they are more interested in being musicians than being women: their music is never feminine in the way that the delicate personal songs of Joni Mitchell or even the screaming blues of the late Joplin were always feminine. They are simply a highly entertaining good-time rock band who just happen to look exceedingly decorative as well.

HAMPSTEAD

Ronald Atkins

Paul Bley

PAUL BLEY is a maverick among jazz musicians. A pianist with a respectable body of recorded work going back twenty years, he is always trying something new. Unlike such major figures as Miles Davis or John Coltrane, both of whom had built a solid image for themselves before changing their music, Bley has remained in the shadows. A man of real talent, he has rarely followed through his several ideas to give his playing an immediate identity. This restless search for new challenges is to be praised, but the mixture of styles made Saturday's

performance at the Country Club a confusing experience.

A large slice of his experimenting has been taken up with the synthesiser, and this electric juggernaut has yet to be tamed to fit the demands of the jazz soloist. You can treat it as an organ; you can produce wondrous noises — at times, Bley filled the club with what sounded like the roars of an African forest choir — but it has so far proved to be too intractable for the highest kind of prolonged musical invention. It can be used as part of a larger setting, when accompanying Annette Peacock, who sang tortuous and oddly attractive ballads and also played electric piano. Bley came up with some gripping effects. Too often, though, he was caught by the feedback and distortion.

In the stretches we heard of his piano playing Bley showed a fine mastery of subtle melodic phrasing, especially when he improvised single-note lines against a sketchy bass background. So convincing and personal at this comparatively mundane activity, he made one wish that he had tilted his programmes more in this direction. A stimulating, if sometimes irritating, recital.

QEH

Hugo Cole

Acts & Galatea

DR WILLIAM SMITH takes nearly 70 pages to sort out editions, adaptations, and performances of Handel's "Acts and Galatea" during the composer's lifetime. The Marine Society put it on to provide funds for "Clothing Boys for the Sea": you could get the whole work arranged for flute solo. Many of the stars of that day and later days eventually appeared in it, for Acts is a storehouse of famous and beautiful solos, which great singers down the generations have made their own, sometimes in ways which outrage the experts. That would Handel have thought of the way in which Owen Brannigan put over "Oh Biddie than the Cherry on Saturday"? A robust interpretation, in which tone was often coarsened for the sake of dramatic effect, and in which florid passages were sometimes blurred; yet this was the first time during the evening when the music had come fully to life; and it was through subsequent interaction with Polyphemus that the other singers were encouraged to give something more than a correct and idiomatically tasteful run-through of the works.

The second half went well from the start. The "Aria Halsey Singers, light-voiced, clear and absolutely steady let us hear every detail of the opening chorus in which the mournful "wretched lovers" theme is broken into by agitated contrapuntal warnings of sea monsters' approach. In the final numbers the work became much more than the "Aria Halsey Singers" seemed to be earlier on. What had been missing before in this lively and precise performance was, I suppose, the poetic imagination needed to transform a piece of mock-mythology into an exploration of genuine emotion.

A THOROUGHLY romantic programme, at Fairfield Hall, with the London Symphony Orchestra under Istvan Kertesz, offering the traditional three courses — overture, concerto and symphony. The overture was Weber's Oberon, played with less warmth and fire than the music deserves, in a brisk twentieth-century manner. The temperature soon rose, not to fall again during the evening as Silvia Marcovici attacked the solo part of the "Aria Halsey Singers". This 18-year-old Hungarian girl, who had been cast here as a vehement and passionate player with what seemed to be, in this hall at least, a prodigious volume of tone.

Even in "piano e cantabile" she sells the music hard; but all is evidently done in sincerity, and her technique is fully up to all the demands made of the soloist. The finale was perhaps too emphatic for the context — one really should not try to play the whole work appassionato — or perhaps one can't. Consciously intellectual players often make the music thin, which Silvia Marcovici never did. There certainly is a certain coldness in the music, and many unexpected beautiful moments against solo violin in slow movement, and that wonderfully imagined bassoon-versus-violin in harmonics in the finale.

MANCHESTER

Merete Bates

Contemporary art

YOU COULD CALL the Northern Young Contemporaries at the show of the worth Gallery, Manchester, at the show of the artist — the notion of a pond of aching purposelessness. In its extreme it takes the form of a type of foolscap page. This exhibit reads like the work of an artist (or his representative) with any individual or group of individuals. Nothing is said, needed except the space to pin up the notes.

This reminds me of an exam question, "Write out Psalm 54," to which the answer "Psalm 54" was logically awarded full marks. But of course it begged the question. If the page is simply the sculptor's resignation that he is going on to higher things, it is superfluous. Held to be better than the sculptor's simply flouting a negative cleverness, it's a pity, even so, to find such an ambiguous, divisive quality obviously esteemed here.

There are a few works with a conventional, more positive intention. Rosemary Purnell's soft, plaited stripes had a warmth that went beyond decoration. Janet Ludlow's dark, stained canvases hung like a skin stretched over a holocaust. And a cut above all the rest — Glen Owen's collection of spattered canvas squares broken by dull metal shards. This work was resonant with the girls, substance, assertion, feeling in so much of the rest.

Edward Greenfield's record will appear tomorrow.

The

last penni



The sex Olympiad

MAURICE GIRODIAS has a mild, open, prep-school face that belies his age—fifty-two—and his profession, founder of Olympia Press and publisher of the best and worst erotic literature of our time. He could be called the Daddy of modern porn except that the real Daddy is Mr. Girodias's own father, Jack Kahane, founder of the Obelisk Press. Between the two of them they spread the porn scene from the early thirties to the present day: forty years of good uncensored family fun, give or take a few breathers here and there.

Both father and son appear to have fallen upon this particular genre of publishing almost by accident, their faces innocently aglow with the desire to make easy money. Jack Kahane (Girodias's father) left his native Manchester at the beginning of the first World War "in order," says his son, "to fight and, if possible, die a just death." Instead of death he met Girodias's mother, a Frenchwoman, and thus fatally depraved and corrupted, decided never to leave his England.

"The climate of England at that time did not appeal to him," remarks his son, "it was what you call uptight today."

Last pennies

After several years of illness (he was gassed at the Front) Jack Kahane invested his last pennies in publishing, among other things, some of his own books. "They were far from remarkable but not too bad. My father was a very frivolous man, he liked society and the ladies quite a bit and he had the best mistress I've ever seen picked by any one man, alive or dead. At the time, I was very snooty, very into theosophy and mysticism and vegetarianism and found his activities very superficial. I disapproved intensely which only goes to show."

But Jack Kahane, bon viveur and lady's man, was not to remain just another publisher. In those early thirties, when England and America were hide-bound splinter aunts and only France basked in the sunlight of complete artistic freedom, he came across Henry Miller. "To him this was a big thing, it went beyond anything that he was planning to do. Henry Miller is really the Pope of them all, the first liberator of American and English writing. Without him we'd still be a long way behind."

And shortly after publishing Miller, Jack Kahane found himself in the odd position of being a frivolous man with a mission, the only publisher willing and able to publish books of erotica in the English language. Laurence Durrell followed in Miller's footsteps with his "Black Book" and then came the famous "Radcliffe Hall." Obelisk Press flourished in that tolerant pre-war France where the last prosecution served on a writer was for Flaubert's "Madame Bovary."

"La Garçonne," written by Victor Marguerite in 1929 was, in its day, the most scandalous book ever written and it was a best-seller. But Victor was not prosecuted. All that happened was that his Legion d'Honneur was withdrawn from him and that created its

own scandal, many people argued that the government had no right to do it. In those days France was a truly free country — today, when I see what she has become, I feel schizophrenic."

Jack Kahane died at the outbreak of the second World War, "out of disgust with Hitler" and, after many other publishing ups and downs, Maurice Girodias started his own Olympia Press in 1953 and began producing those olive green books so eagerly snapped up by anglophobic English and American tourists. "I remembered my father's example at last and I needed an easy money-making thing. I printed 'Zorba the Greek,' a few finds of that type, but the major change was when I published the first French version of Miller's 'Tropic of Capricorn'."

So the son was launched in the footsteps of his father, though the freedom revolution and the French Government. It is not surprising that he sees censorship as a political weapon and any campaign against "pornography" as the first step taken by a repressive government.

"You can see it when you look at Russia, China, Portugal, Spain. In Tsarist Russia most revolutionaries believed in what was called free love, in fact, sexual freedom was one of the items of the revolutionary programme. But when the Bolsheviks got into power they very quickly realised that such freedom is an anarchic thing, had for party discipline and so they imposed a very strict censorship. They turned the Russians into a bunch of puritans for political reasons. The same thing happened when Hitler came to power, he eliminated the permissiveness of the previous régime and instituted a strict morality in Germany. And what about England during the industrial revolution—there was a great need to keep the working classes in order and stop them asking questions so, again, a strict morality was imposed."

Inherent danger

The French, Mr. Girodias believes, became accustomed to censorship under the German occupation and changed from a country where "censorship" was an insulting word to a repressive society. The repression was reinforced two decades later, by the Algerian war: the Parisian bookshop that was constantly raided during those troubles for selling books on torture, by the military, was raided again once the troubles were over, this time for selling "indecent" literature. The censors bad, as it were, worn a path to its door under one hat and were therefore unquestioned when they took that path again under a new hat. Which illustrates, perhaps, one of the greatest dangers inherent in censorship.

"Censorship of any kind always goes with reactionary regimes and political dictatorships. It's a very simple thing to understand. Censorship was used by the Catholic Church and, before that, the Jewish establishment, to impose discipline on its citizens. And since I suppose sex to be a major cultural drive, a force liable to transform man



JILL
TWEEDIE



picture of Maurice Girodias, by John Fildmore

and often his main motivation for doing things it is logical that the first thing an activist government will do is deprive him of as much sexual freedom as possible. It is a sign, in fact, of evolution when a country like America discards censorship and goes into an era of ridiculous porn as they are now. But then, it is always difficult, that transitional period between puritanism and freedom."

The transformation happens, says Mr. Girodias, more quickly with Protestant

countries like Scandinavia and Denmark, more slowly with the Latin countries.

"The first phase of any sexual revolution is usually the historic trial against some publisher. The publisher wins and the climate changes overnight. Films and other media follow the example of books and after that people start questioning many other things, everything from education to the structure of their society. You can see each phase following the next like a textbook, quite predictably. I can

even assess how quickly it will happen by the population of a country. Four million will take three months, 12 million from six months to a year and, in large countries like the States, with around 200 million, it would probably take twenty years in all. America started ten years ago and, though the cities are completely free it will take another ten years to touch the hinterlands."

Mr. Girodias adds that he likes such protracted revolutions since he can then do the most profitable business. He admits, with a rueful smile, that in both Holland and Denmark, with their small populations, he was overtaken by the sexual revolution and his books were already obsolete before they came out, weakened and sexed by the sudden torrent of stronger game. England, he thinks, is right in the middle of her revolution and suffering at the moment from a sort of stage fright.

"Like a middle-aged woman suddenly finding herself naked in the streets, she panics and shouts for the police. But it is a purely temporary crisis and our little sideshow . . . (the London office of Olympia Press were raided last week) . . . is just a test, I think. The Mrs. Whitehouses are really prehistoric animals. It is impossible for a modern country to resist increasing freedom; people travel and it is very hard to halt the progress of a country in full communication with other countries." Our own special brand of pornography is, according to Mr. Girodias, mainly sadomasochistic and he ascribes this partly to the English character and partly to the class structure.

Lost challenge

"There was a very rich fund of pornography in Victorian times and if you read, for instance, 'My Secret Life' you will see how the working classes were treated as sexual objects to be trampled upon and manipulated because not really considered fully human. It may be that this feeling about a whole group of people heightened sadism and then, of course, the tradition of the armed forces and colonialism served as a good training ground. There is a peculiar tension in the English character that expresses itself in destroying people in very intimate ways by getting at their ego. Of course cruelty exists in Latin countries too but I think it is not as refined and wily as the whipping of schoolboys and the torturing of servants so standard in British pornography."

Mr. Girodias's opinion of British publishers is not too high either — he thinks them a craven lot on the whole, unwilling to take up the challenge he feels necessary, to lead the sexual revolution with the written word.

"The English film industry was very lucky to have John Trevelyan as official Censor. He did an heroic job, very intelligent and civilised, always trying to reach the perfect compromise between free artistic expression and public prejudice. But who is doing the same for literature? Lord Goodman could have done it but he chickened out — I was very disappointed. Nor

does it need much to make British publishers back down: the 'Last Exit to Brooklyn' prosecution was enough for most of them to abandon 20 per cent of their new authors though it is an economic fact that they could not survive at all without erotic literature. The most respectable publishers have these books on their lists, disguised as sexual documentation or 'famous cases' or some such hypocrisy."

No censorship at all, "not a shred," is Maurice Girodias's formula for freedom. That some people may not be ready for such freedom is, to him, beside the point since such people will develop more quickly than under a climate of restraint and repression. From the nineteenth-century ethic of "knowing your place" and obedience to orders from Above the sexual revolution is leading us into a new era of freedom in which he says "we will be obliged to behave as free people."

"And that," says Maurice Girodias leaning back in his armchair "is no bed of roses."

Miller v. Millett

I AGREE WITH much that Mr. Girodias says, particularly that sexual repression by censorship, whether governmental or ecclesiastical, is a political weapon. Nevertheless, there lingers alongside all his words the substantial shadow of his books. Some are so badly written as to be hilarious — a book on his current list describes a man having an orgasm by saying "he vocalised for several minutes, a phrase that sends shudders of sex down nobody's spine. Some are the very best of their kind: Jean Genet holds a glass darkly to respectable society and illuminates many of its most squalid corners. Terry Southern's 'Candide' is funny and sexy and blessedly warm-hearted to women, a rare virtue in pornography.

What an irony that Valerie Solanas's "SCUM Manifesto," that scream of rage against the masculine world, should have been published by Mr. Girodias; for all he may say (and mean) of his sympathies towards women's liberation the whole pattern of pornography is one long wretched saga of female degradation. Olympia's own 'Story of O' is a demand for the total sexual submission of women, made all the more powerful and, to my mind, obscene by its strong 'spiritual' justifications—a veritable bible of feminine martyrdom.

And the books of Henry Miller, Mr. Girodias's Pope of erotic literature, have come full circle again. For years they were labelled obscene for their language, their detailed descriptions of intercourse. Now, after a honeymoon period of acceptance, they are labelled obscene again, this time by women like Kate Millet, for the descriptions of women as objects to be used and abused, laughed at and insulted. In her criticism ("Sexual Politics") Miss Millet approaches, I believe, the true heart of obscenity—the abuse of human beings—but even so, she would not have Mr. Miller's books banned. Publish, by all means, and then be damned.

A personal view

Consumer democracy

WHO PROTECTS the consumers of consumer organisations? The Automobile Association increases its subscription, the Consumers' Association announces the launching of a new magazine. Were the members of these organisations consulted? Who ensures that they get value for money or tests their new products?

Questions like these are given added force by the current explosion of "consumerism" in its widest sense: the rapid growth of national and local groups aiming to represent the public as consumers of education, of town planning decisions and of welfare services. It is fashionable to hail this growth as a sign of grass-roots democracy. But the experience of the AA and the CA suggests that it could strengthen the oligarchy of the well-intentioned rather than democracy.

Take the case of the AA, with its 4,500,000 members and £17 millions a year income. In recent years the AA has been stressing its role as a consumer organisation. It is run in the words of its spokesman, rather "like a very large tennis club," by a committee of 16 headed by Lord Brentford.

The AA committee falls into the category of a self-perpetuating oligarchy in practice if not in theory. A quarter of the committee retire every year, and the four places are filled by the votes of members at the Annual General Meeting held at the Savoy in London. All 4,500,000 members of the AA are entitled to vote and to nominate a candidate. In 1964, about three or four hundred turned up. More important still, there is the AA's Catch 22: Clause 18 (2c) of its rules states that candidates must "prior to the Annual General Meeting have been approved by at least three-fourths of the members of the committee present. . . . In other words, the outgoing committee of this particular tennis club decide who is eligible for nomination."

However it is easier to be critical than to suggest remedies. The AA plausibly stresses its own readiness to change the system if only someone could come up with a suggestion which would extend democracy without opening the way for a minority take-over. What, for example, if there were to be a coup by the motor trade and all the garage owners were to descend on the Savoy to elect their own men to the committee?

Such spine-chilling fears may be exaggerated. The experience of the CA suggests that the real problem is not so much to guard against the excesses of democracy but to persuade members to exercise democratic rights. Like the AA, the CA is in practice a self-perpetuating oligarchy—in spite, rather than because of, its constitution.

Nudged by the Molony Committee on Consumer Protection, the CA in 1967 revised its constitution to make its Council directly elected. A third of the council of 15—by and large representatives of the intellectual establishment—come up for re-election every year. All CA members are entitled to vote and stand, although the Council

At the Consumer Association's annual general meeting on Saturday, Mrs Jennifer Jenkins proposed a Ministry of Consumer Affairs. But Rudolf Klein suggests here that Parliament might also interest itself in the consumer organisations themselves

can bar any candidate who is "engaged as principal in the manufacture, distribution or sale of goods or commodities" a clause which has not yet been invoked though it protects the CA against a take-over bid by trade interests.

Anyone who has subscribed continuously to "Which?" for three years can become an ordinary voting member of CA. Currently there are about 25,000 such potential members. However, only 2,473 of them—less than one per cent of those eligible and less than half per cent of the 618,000 subscribers to "Which?"—have bothered to become voting members.

Experience

So although contested Council elections are the rule in the CA, rather than the exception as in the AA, the actual experience of the two organisations is not so very different. Neither is exactly an active democracy. Usually less than 200 people attend the AGM of the CA and between 60 and 70 per cent of all members take part in the postal ballots which decide elections (though this still means that these are decided by fewer than 1,500 people). The Council nominees are usually returned.

What, then, does ensure that the interests of the AA and CA consumers are regarded by the organisations to which they subscribe? The answer is that both bodies are large businesses and, as such, have to pay attention to what the customer wants. It is commercial self-interest, not the constitution, which protects the subscriber.

Like many businesses, the AA goes in for regular sampling. It employs public opinion firms to find out the opinions of its members on current issues: for example, about speed limits or breathalyser tests. It uses market research techniques to find out the views of members about services and products: for instance, the accepta-

bility of the AA's new magazine, Drive, was tested in this way.

The CA also uses market research methods. It asks its members about what they would like to see in future issues of its various magazines. The decision to launch the new 'Handyman Which?' was taken only after sampling subscribers had shown an overwhelming demand for such a periodical in preference to various alternatives.

There is a certain irony in this trend. Here are two bodies which were both founded as non-commercial organisations; indeed the CA even had a streak of overt anti-commercialism. However, they are most democratic—in the sense of being responsive to the views of their members—when they are most commercial in their methods. In the last resort it is commercial necessity which restricts the oligarchies running these organisations.

Market forces have their disadvantages, however. For example, the CA's campaigning role is inhibited by commercial pressures: many of its subscribers simply want "best buy" information and resent money being spent idealistically to serve the public interest at large rather than the specific interests of those buying the magazines.

One possible, if partial, solution is that adopted by the National Trust—itsself a rather hybrid organisation, partly representing its own members as consumers and partly a trustee of property on behalf of the country as a whole. The rules for electing members of the council are such that those of the CA, though no special qualifications are needed to become a voter (indeed in a postal ballot conducted in 1966, more than 50,000 votes were recorded). However, only half the 52 councillors are elected; the rest are nominated by a variety of outside bodies, ranging from the Royal Academy of Arts to the Ramblers' Association. Here at least there is some protection against in-breeding.

The National Trust's constitution is embodied in an Act of Parliament, last amended earlier this year. It may be that Parliament should now extend its interest to cover other major consumer bodies as well. It is not that there is an impending danger that these are likely to be taken over by irresponsible or corrupt people. The real problem is both more subtle and more difficult. Company law can try to protect the public against cheats and tricksters. But how is the public to be protected against those who may try to use large organisations for their own ends precisely because they are conscious of their own integrity and good intentions?

Elisabeth Dunn is on holiday

This week in Woman's Guardian: THE SUPERSELLERS, a four part series on the men who masterminded the super-market boom, and the way they do it



How to begin when the IRA leaves off

There are encouraging signs that the bipartisan policy on Northern Ireland may be continued following Mr Wilson's visit there. Doubtless he will have new proposals to make, but he has already rejected direct rule as a positive instrument of policy; he sees it only as a counsel of despair to be introduced after political breakdown. This is surely right. Ultimately the political future of Northern Ireland can only be decided by its own people, Protestant and Catholic. Anything which encourages their political leaders to hope that others will solve their problem for them is dangerous. The British rôle must be conciliatory, not neo-colonialist.

Mr Wilson also has sound political reasons for sticking to bipartisanship, whatever the temptations of a quick swipe at the Conservatives. He has now seen the conditions in which the British Army—sent to Ulster by the Labour Government—is operating. Living is hard, the ghetto Catholics are unfriendly, danger is constant, and casualties are high. General Sir Harry Tuzo will have given Mr Wilson his assessment of the military possibilities: that the intelligence information which has become available since internment, resulting in the capture of large numbers of IRA men and arms, offers a reasonable chance that the army will break the back of IRA resistance by the spring. Vietnam is a reminder that generals are sometimes too optimistic; Malaya and Borneo show that they are sometimes right. Vietnam has another lesson also. Sir Harry will doubtless have told Mr Wilson that any sign that Britain is to be politically split down the middle over Ireland would damage the morale of his soldiers and encourage the IRA to continue their campaign in the hope of exhausting British public will.

There are only three options on the security front. One is to withdraw the army and leave Ireland to civil war. That is not to be thought of. The second, which is being urged by some extreme Protestants, is a so-called tougher policy. It is difficult to see what this means, unless it is a greater disregard for the lives of those who, voluntarily or not, find themselves in districts controlled by the IRA. Some Protestants are so angered by the continuing campaign of shootings and explosions that they would like to see the army using heavier weapons and shooting less discriminately. This would cause an enormous death toll and is unthinkable.

The third choice, which has been adopted, is the only proper one in such an anti-terrorist campaign. The army is acting in support of the civil power, a democratically elected government. It must act within the law, and its principal weapon is intelligence. That is why the issue of internment must be faced honestly, by the Labour Party and others. Imprisonment without trial is an obnoxious weapon in any society. We are critical of it in Communist or Fascist countries. It must be ended as quickly as possible within Britain, as it was after the war. But those who call for an immediate end to internment must face the facts. The army and police were getting little intelligence about the IRA before August 9. One reason was sympathy for the IRA in the Catholic ghettos. But the other was intimidation. Since internment information has become available in remarkable quantities.

Internment and intelligence

The public is rightly concerned about the interrogation methods which probably produced some of this information, and they are now being reviewed. But much damage to the IRA's command structure, particularly in Belfast, and many arms seizures have resulted from information that came not from that source but from men who were afraid to talk while some of the internees were at large. Critics of internment, when asked whether well-known IRA men ought to be released to kill more soldiers and civilians, reply that they should be charged. In many cases this answer is either naïve or dishonest. The police or army could offer no hope of protection to key witnesses in such trials. The names of murderers in some specific cases are known to the police, but the witnesses who could convict them have declined to give evidence because they would be killed. If anyone thinks IRA intimidation is a police fairy tale they should remember the bodies found in ditches with the backs of their heads shot out, or the men shot through the knees. Those who say that internment must end immediately have so far ignored this argument. The reason is that there is no satisfactory answer to it. If internment ended tomorrow intelligence information would dry up again, and the army would either have to act in a way which would cause heavy casualties or withdraw and leave Ireland to civil war. There is an obligation

on those who challenge the present policy to say which course they would take.

Assuming the more cheerful military assessment is correct, the Ulster problem becomes a political one again. The army can remove the scourge of IRA intimidation from Catholics who oppose it. The job of giving the Catholic community a new loyalty and leadership is one for politicians. Even some moderate Catholic political leaders now believe that early Irish unification must be their aim. The argument goes like this: the Unionists have run this chronically divided state in the only practical way, with the majority firmly in control; the Catholics cannot hope for real power within that state; there must be an early transfer of power from Stormont to a commission which will run the area while negotiations for unity take place; the Protestant backlash against such a course will last only 48 hours.

This case does not bear close examination. There are too many Protestants who are determined to remain within the United Kingdom to make it either right or practical. Even if a united Ireland was, miraculously, established without bloodshed, the new state would contain a minority of one million sullen, betrayed, and uncooperative Protestants. More probably the large working class Protestant ghettos of Belfast and other towns would turn into gigantic Bogside, with no law except that of the vigilante gunman. Ireland might easily become a land of pogroms. The Catholic MPs, who have always spoken of unity by peaceful means, must be careful of seeming to ride on the backs of the IRA. They should seek to negotiate a compromise deal as soon as the security situation makes negotiations feasible.

The Unionists' alternative

Mr Faulkner's Government, by contrast, wants gradual reform within Northern Ireland. By previous Unionist standards it is anything but gradual: parliamentary committees with half the chairmanships reserved for Catholics; a Catholic in the Cabinet, and probably more to follow; proportional representation; larger Commons and Senate to give a wider political view. The Catholics would have more influence in such a system, and Mr Faulkner has proved that he is prepared to bully his own supporters to get that.

But will it persuade Catholics to abjure violence as a means of abolishing the border? The Unionist argument is that what ordinary Catholics want immediately is a square deal within Northern Ireland, and that the Government's reforms will be seen to produce that. Catholic MPs, it is argued, were not elected to serve in a Government with Unionists. The weakness in the argument is that the British parliamentary system works only because the two main parties alternate in power. The certainty that Catholic MPs will be permanently in opposition makes resistance to the system inevitable.

If Catholic MPs are to seize the leadership of their community back after the IRA begins to lose ground, what they must have is real and demonstrable power. Ideally, of course, this could come about from a reshaping of the party system in Northern Ireland, with two non-sectarian parties on the Right and Left. But that would take years to evolve. Some form of community government, therefore, seems the only viable path to peace. But at present Mr Faulkner says it is impossible for Unionists to work in a Cabinet with MPs who oppose the union with Britain. This is an attitude that could conceivably be modified if Mr Faulkner meets the SDLP at the conference which must follow any security success. Each side could retain its long-term aims on the border while working together in the practical business of government and administration. But it may be that Mr Faulkner is right, and that a Cabinet cannot be created out of two groups which trust each other so little and have different views on the very existence of the State. In that event there will be little alternative but to lift the issue of the border out of parliamentary politics altogether, and leave it to periodic referenda.

A new kind of Stormont

If the two groups cannot work in a Cabinet, Stormont may have to make a more radical leap into a new form of regional government than has so far been contemplated. It is doubtful whether Scotland or Wales could create a system of alternating governments either, for Labour would probably have a monopoly of power in both Edinburgh and Cardiff. Stormont may have to be content with a committee system in which power is more generally shared, instead of the present single party Cabinet system. Could it operate with a governing body which is something less than a Cabinet, but considerably more than a general purposes committee? The important fact for both Unionists and their opponents to realise is that any success against the IRA will only be the beginning of a period of great political change. It will be a major opportunity for the Catholics and an important challenge for the Protestants. Their community will suffer terribly if the imagination of either side falters.

A COUNTRY DIARY

CHESHIRE: The strong north-westerly winds of early November brought a great variety of pelagic birds close to the north Wirral coast. A friend, during a walk along the Meols promenade, saw no less than three Sabine's gulls, two storm petrels, a Leach's petrel, several Manx and a sooty shearwater and numerous kittiwakes, all, except the first, birds which normally spend their time, out of the breeding season, in the open sea. Sabine's gull is a fork-tailed tern-like bird which breeds in the high Arctic and moves southward during the winter. It was first recorded off the Cheshire coast in 1950 but there have been over a dozen records since then, almost certainly because of the increasing number of skilled observers rather than through any change in the bird's habits. Meanwhile, winter visitors continue to arrive. By mid-November, the duck on the big mere had greatly increased in number and had been joined by several goldeneye, and a couple of waxwings were feeding upon apples on a tree in a Wilslow garden. At that date I had received no reports of siskins nor bramblings, but redwings and fieldfares, golden plover and common gulls were well distributed again. Earlier in the autumn, a new bird was added to the county list when a great shearwater was identified off the coast of Wirral.

L. P. SAMUELS

More words or war?

JOCK BRUCE-GARDYNE, MP, on the implications of President Sadat's latest burst of verbal aggression.

PRESIDENT SADAT reviewing his troops on the Canal this weekend.



PRESIDENT SADAT of Egypt is a master of the art of verbal escalation. This was to be the "Year of Decision" for Egypt and Israel. With only seven weeks to go, Israel, the United States, and the rest of the world were warring officially from Cairo that Egypt would "feel free to act" if diplomacy had made no progress towards ejecting Israeli troops from Arab territory by the year's end.

And now the president has told his front-line troops that "the time for battle has come" and given them a rendezvous in Sinai.

The president knows as well as anyone else that a resumption of full-scale hostilities with Israel would only lead to another humiliation for Egyptian arms, while the resumption of the ground and air bombardment across the Canal (which in any case was not what Sadat was talking to his troops about on Saturday) would, notwithstanding the sophistication of the Russian aerial defences between Cairo and the Canal, be likely to inflict more damage on Egypt than on the Israeli army.

So it seems reasonable to suppose that his words were not meant, primarily, for the soldiers who heard them. My guess would be that they were meant for Moscow.

Since the six-day war, the Arab countries have had considerable success in the battle for world sympathy. Prior to 1967, the picture of Israel as a small democratic nation sur-

rounded by rich and powerful foes commanded wide support, coloured as it was in Western Europe by memories of the humiliation of Suez.

General de Gaulle, as so often, was the first to foresee that an Israeli conquest of large areas of Arab territory would transform that situation. Since the passage of the November, 1967, UN resolution calling on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, in return for Arab recognition of the 1949-67 frontier, the American State Department has become visibly impatient with the one-sided attitude towards the Middle East imposed on successive US administrations by the American Jewish lobby.

Yet the harsh truth is that Israel shows, if anything, even less inclination to withdraw today than she did at the time of the passage of the resolution.

For intransigence pays. Israel has far more easily defensible frontiers than she had before the 1967 war. Her heartlands are no longer vulnerable to guerrilla attacks or Egyptian shelling. Arab frustration at the continuation of the Israel occupation ensures that the Egyptian Government cannot afford to weaken its links with Moscow, which in turn enables Mrs Meir to play up the menace of Russian communism in the Middle East for the benefit of American audiences.

Admittedly President Nixon has been persuaded to hold up the delivery of Phantom jets in an attempt to get the Israelis at least to agree to a

partial withdrawal in Sinai. This gesture has been totally ineffective — and not surprisingly, for so long as the Russians restrict themselves to the defence of Egypt west of the Canal, and the provision of armaments which the Egyptians could use for offensive operations across the Canal but only, in all probability, to lose them, Israel's defensive armaments are amply sufficient without the Phantoms.

This is why it seems logical to assume that President Sadat's warlike noises are beamed towards Moscow. For the Russians cannot relish the thought of another Egyptian military defeat. There is more to this than the desire to avert the humiliation of an ally.

Every defeat for Russian-equipped forces in the Middle East means the capture by the Israelis (and hence in Russian eyes, by the Americans) of sophisticated Russian arms, and also fresh evidence to support those Eastern European military leaders, particularly in Poland, who question the reliability of Russian equipment.

President Sadat cannot have many illusions about the likelihood of the present cautious leadership in the Kremlin being pressurised into committing Russian troops to offensive operations against Israel.

But he knows, and the Russians know, that détente with Russia is a major element in President Nixon's strategy for re-election. His task is, to make the threat of a major confrontation in the Middle East appear sufficiently serious to

induce Mr Nixon to risk the wrath of American Jewry — which, after all, votes Democrat anyway.

There is one point, perhaps only one, at which Israel could be vulnerable to American pressure: the threat of a campaign, mounted by the White House, to secure withdrawal of the tax exemption for the financial contributions of the American Jewish community to the State of Israel in the absence of signs of a more accommodating spirit for Mrs Meir and her colleagues.

All this implies that President Sadat was once more bluffing on Saturday. Even if he was, his bluff could be called. I remember that at the time of Nasser's death, the general impression in Cairo was that Sadat's appointment was little more than a holding operation while the Egyptian leaders made up their minds who was to be the real successor to the departed hero.

Like other advertised stop-gaps, he has turned out otherwise. He has disposed of his most dangerous rival with apparent ease, and his increasingly warlike noises against Israel have sounded more like part of a calculated diplomatic strategy than the reflection of a need to protect his own flank. But it is a diplomatic strategy full of risks. This time, if the latest threat is no more successful in shifting the Israelis than previous threats have been, then it is difficult to see how the President is to avoid a resumption of hostilities.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Facing facts

Sir—In his letter (November 18) about Mr Thatcher's decision to concentrate on primary schools the resources available for improving old buildings, Tyrrell Burgess does not mention two points which she made in the House of Commons on November 5. She said: "By the end of 1970 the number of new secondary places provided since the war was equivalent to well over 80 per cent of the secondary school population. The corresponding figure for primary schools was little more than 60 per cent. One million—one in five—of our primary schoolchildren are in nineteenth-century schools. This is true of only about one in twenty of our secondary schoolchildren—Yours sincerely, N. C. Cowan, Chief Information Officer, Department of Education and Science, Curzon Street, London, W 1.

Cutting your costs

Sir—After reading Peter Hillman's "moving story of professional fees" (November 19), and subsequently bearing the radio discussion between officials of the Law Society and a National Home Owners' Society, it seems clear that the high legal costs of house purchase are levied for work which, in the great majority of transactions, is purely routine and repetitive. I can think of no other comparable purchase in which such great additional costs are incurred. Is it not therefore time — especially in view of this Government's declared objective

of a "home owning democracy" — that the work of conveyancing was taken away from the legal profession and done by an appropriate local or central government department, e.g. rating or land registry offices, which already have most of the relevant details of property?

In the great majority of cases the buying and selling of a house is no more complicated than that of a car, which is effectively dealt with by a relatively small government office at no cost whatsoever to either party—Yours faithfully, Colin Dickinson, King's Lynn, Norfolk.

Inquiry needed

Sir—The Society for Education in Film and Television wishes to add its voice to those of the Free Communications Group, Time Out and others in demanding a public inquiry and public debate into the allocation of the last remaining television frequency to the ITA.

The ITA chairman Brian Young has stated that he does not want public debate on the matter, a curious statement for the chairman of a publicly licensed authority in command of a major network for communication, education and entertainment—Yours faithfully, S. Rohdie, General Secretary, Society for Education in Film and Television, London W 1.

MORE LETTERS on Page 12

ULSTER: two paths to take

Sir—I know you will have a large mailbag on the subject of the Compton Report. May I put one aspect of it to you?

I have read, as anyone who reads at all must have read, hideous accounts of the torture of mind and body of those who are detained by the State in countries such as Russia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and our own distant kinship in South Africa. The ordinary people in those countries probably feel they can do nothing to affect these practices.

The Compton report has found no indications of torture or brutality—only "physical ill-treatment". Physical ill-treatment of people arrested on suspicion. This is the first step on the downhill descent. If we, in Britain, can raise a great outcry against these ill-treatments done in our name, is this not only putting our own house in order, but also giving those oppressed people in the "torture" countries a little comfort?

The terrorists in Northern Ireland are causing both physical ill-treatment and mental torture to people every day of the week, but we are willing to do the same?—Yours faithfully, (Mrs) D. M. Burrell, Trinkle Lane, Stoney Middleton, Yorkshire.

Sir—One thing is abundantly evident from the deteriorating

situation in Ulster. If it continues it can lead only to unimagined disaster. As terrorism and murder by the political fanatic result inevitably in more and more repression and increasing harshness on the part of those responsible for keeping law and order, the chance of reaching an understanding between the two sides that will bring peace and justice to all becomes more and more remote. There can be only one way for Ireland—North and South—and that is the way of Christ.

If all Christians, Catholic and Protestant, there and elsewhere — priests, ministers, politicians, teachers and all who are in a position to influence men's minds—would join together to fight hatred and bitterness and to work wholeheartedly for that reconciliation and forgiveness that is the foundation of their common faith—then and only then is there any hope.

If this fundamental change in man's attitude to man is to be brought about, everyone must be involved. Each must ask himself the question: Is what I say and do, what is even more important, the way I say it, likely to increase bitterness and recrimination and, as a corollary, what can I say and do which will mitigate the sense of injustice and wrong on both sides and help to heal the wounds?

House of Lords. Stamp.

AID: political solutions take time...

Sir—Nothing Mr Angus Calder (November 18) said is new to those of us working for voluntary agencies sending aid overseas. It is an old argument that our charitable effort is like attempting the cure of cancer with sticking plaster.

I sympathise with those who dismiss aid as irrelevant and demoralising. I know that the solution to the problem of world poverty must be political. Yet, during my first year in the development business I have usually been more impressed by people working on

rural development projects to improve conditions in the Third World than people breathing the hot air of political revolution.

Mr Calder calls for commitment to political solidarity with people in the Third World resenting aid. But this is a vague aim. It can be as arid a conscience-salver for the young left-winger as the £5 to Oxford for the middle-aged conservative.

Diana Bailey, Netheravon Road, London W 4.

The Economist

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An authoritative view for people who must be better informed.

FOR THE RICH ENJOYMENT OF THE FINEST HAVANA CIGAR MAKING COUNTRY

PUNCH
HAVANA

PETER JENKINS

March land winds

IT IS NO tragedy for the Government that there is going to be no debate on Northern Ireland this week. For Ministers have nothing new to say on the subject, rather, nothing they are ready to say openly. But behind the scenes some crucially important policy decisions have been reached which could provide the foundation for a new approach to the problem at which the Heath Government, like better governments before it, sank helplessly into the Irish bog.

The Government's first and overriding priority remains—as I have already reported—to "get on top of the gunmen." Except that this phrase has now been expanded from the style book and Ministers are expected to speak about "making inroads into the strength of the IRA." The point of this semantic shift is to make clear that political advance cannot await total military victory.

With that reservation, Mr Brian Faulkner has won another round. Westminster has accepted Stormont's arguments that no further political reform can be introduced until the security situation has improved. But what happens then when, in the British Government's hopeful estimation, the IRA's intimidating grip on the Catholics has been loosened and the efforts of the Protestants have been somewhat allayed?

This is what all the palaver in Whitehall has been about in the past three weeks. Ministers and departments were pressing to know where Mr Maudling and the Home Office were heading and how they intended to get there. Now, under the pressure from the Prime Minister, a clearer strategy has been evolved and it is this:

Once the emergency has been contained by military means the Northern Ireland Government will be expected to open a new era of peaceful coexistence. This would involve the two Irelands and the two communities within the two communities. This is what the Prime Minister was hinting at in the Guildhall speech when he said that the unification of Ireland by democratic means was an "understandable aim and should be a 'legitimate' one."

But it goes a bit further than this. The concept is not unlike Willie Brandt's "two Germanies, one nation." Subject to the existing constitutional guarantees Northern Ireland is to be seen as a sort of march land, the dictionary definition of a march being "a tract of debatable land separating two countries." Reunification as a dramatic act of policy must be put aside; but reunification as the eventual result of a growing together process becomes the desirable objective.

Instead of being the obsessional area to a non-existent politics it becomes the practical base. For in the meanwhile—and the meanwhile might be 20 or 25 years—Northern Ireland must be made a place worth living in. The development of common interests between the two Irelands, facilitated by common membership of the European Community, must become the basis of cooperation, if not coalition, between the two communities in Northern Ireland.

Two assumptions underpin this plan. One is that the Irish Republic will make a constructive contribution. Mr Jack Lynch is taken to be aware of the IRA menace to himself and ready to act against the extremists once their grip on the Catholics in the North has been weakened. And Mr Lynch is understood to accept that Ireland can be united only by honest and peaceful means.

The second assumption is that a sense of the future is more important than the constitutional devices which might be required to give it expression. The devices for sharing power are secondary to a shared political objective.

The implication of this Westminster thinking for Ulster Unionism is far reaching. Many will consider it alarmingly unrealistic. It challenges the assumptions on which Orange power has rested for the past century. The British Government would greatly prefer to see Mr Faulkner lead his party in the new direction. But if he can't the lead will have to come from elsewhere and that, almost certainly, means from Westminster, ruling directly.

The Ulster wheel has turned full circle. In 1921 Arthur Griffiths, the Sinn Féin leader, accused Lloyd George of underpinning the Protestant ascendancy with British power. LG replied: "We are only behind them to this extent that we cannot allow civil war to take place at our doors. There is nothing we should prefer to see than should unite with you. Only to that extent are we behind them..."

THIS week's Supreme Soviet session, convened to pass the much-postponed five-year plan, is a chess move in the Kremlin power game—an attempt by the political leadership to check the military and their allies in the upper levels of the party hierarchy.

The struggle between the military and the political leadership has been a constant feature of the Kremlin scene since the death of Stalin. The first great leadership debate of the post-Stalin period was between Malenkov, the Prime Minister who wanted to spend more on consumer goods, and Khrushchev, who wanted to build up heavy industry in order to provide the weapons the military were demanding.

But the logic of the Kremlin power struggle follows its own perverse rules. Stalin himself sometimes took over the policies of his opponents. After he had defeated them, of course. Khrushchev, too, decided soon after he had defeated Malenkov that he wanted to spend more money on consumer goods and less on defence, and was duly overthrown in 1964 by a coalition of the military and their conservative allies in the politburo, led by Leonid Brezhnev. The new leadership which have resulted in the massive Soviet arms build-up we see today.

The rules of the power struggle, however, soon began asserting themselves. Brezhnev, having paid off his debt to the military, wanted to press on with the consumer programmes and the economic development plans which both Malenkov and Khrushchev had ultimately embraced. Once again, however, a coalition between the military and conservative politicians has been trying to balk the Kremlin top leadership—with so far, considerable success.

The clearest outline of the struggle between the two Kremlin factions is evident in the chequered history of the current five-year plan, which is supposed to embody the leadership decisions on the conflicting claims of the military and civilian sectors of the economy.

The plan was originally supposed to be ready by 1969, so that the party congress, due at the beginning of 1970, should be able to perform its ritual function of rubber-stamping the document approved by the politburo.

But 1969 came and went without any sign of the plan. What evidence there was suggested that the delay was due once again to arguments about the allocation of resources between the civilian and military sectors of the economy.

Articles in the military press stressed the vital role of heavy industry in maintaining the country's defences, expressed alarm at the "ever

Brezhnev—gambling with goodies

The Supreme Soviet meets tomorrow to pass the new Five Year Plan.

VICTOR ZORZA reports



Top left, Sholepin; bottom left, Sholest; right, Brezhnev, triumphant in Paris

growing" threat of world war, and called for the strengthening of Soviet military power.

Speeches by some of the political leaders, such as the Prime Minister, Kosygin, tended to play down the threat of war, to downgrade the importance of heavy industry, and to play up the prospects for an understanding with the West—and hence for more consumer goods. For most of the time Brezhnev took a middle position, sometimes veering slightly towards the military and sometimes towards the consumer lobby.

Yet the politburo as a whole was unable to make up its mind. No plan was published and no congress could therefore be held early in 1970, as was required by the party statute. After some time, and amid indications of further argument, Brezhnev formally announced that the congress would be held by the end of the year at the latest. But a few days after his announcement the decision was reversed at a hastily convened meeting of the party central committee.

The twenty-fourth congress, Brezhnev's own congress, would not be held until the following year, in the spring of 1971. There were still further signs of rooftop over the allocation of resources, this time with a bearing also on agriculture, the accumulation of capital for the modernisation of industry, on the space programme, and on many other claims in addition to those of the military and consumer sectors.

At the congress, Brezhnev made a clean break with the military, in almost the same words that Khrushchev had once used. Brezhnev now spoke of the "heroic" period of Soviet history, when the Soviet leaders had no choice but to sacrifice the allocations for consumer goods, so that the country's industrial base might be strengthened.

But times had changed, he said, and the Soviet Union now had the economic strength to invest more in the production of consumer goods.

Brezhnev explicitly condemned the anti-consumer lobby. In the past, he said, the country was prepared to accept "extreme privation," to be content "with the bare necessities." But what was natural in the past, "when other tasks stood in the forefront, is no longer acceptable under present conditions, comrades." And if "some comrades" failed to take this into account, the party would hold them responsible for showing the lack of understanding of the essence of its policy.

Most congress speakers followed the Brezhnev line but some members of the opposition refused to be intimidated. Their views were conveyed more succinctly by the party chief of Byelorussia, Pyotr Mashev, one of the leading conservatives in the party hierarchy.

He made clear his own preference for heavy and military industry over consumer goods by saying that the Soviet people were "willing to make any sacrifice" to strengthen their armed forces. He thus implicitly rejected Brezhnev's claim that such sacrifices were no longer required, and explicitly condemned what he called "consumerism."

Many of those at the congress would have known of his early association with Alexander Sholepin, the former police chief who had repeatedly challenged Brezhnev on behalf of the conservative military alliance.

Sholepin still remained the Politburo's youngest member, although he had lost his job as party secretary. Sholepin did not speak at the congress, but took advantage of the first major speech he made after it to emphasise the importance of heavy industry. So did Katushev, one of the younger party secretaries, whom Brezhnev had brought into the Kremlin when he was still a hard-liner himself. It began to look as if the younger members of the hierarchy were turning against their elders.

For some time before the congress there had been signs of resentment among the more conservative younger elements against the barrier to their advancement created by the older generation's virtual monopoly of Politburo seats. There had been thinly disguised calls for changes at the top from some of Sholepin's associates, who wrote articles about the need for the rejuvenation of party officials.

Just before the congress another conservative stalwart, Vitaly Sholest, the party boss of the Ukraine gave his Politburo colleagues a reminder of what was expected of them. Old party officials, he said, were "retiring to a well-earned rest," and they were being replaced by younger officials who were "honestly justifying the trust placed in them."

But Brezhnev refused to take the hint. At the congress, he paid lip-service to the desirability of promoting young functionaries, but at the same time he stressed the need to make "maximum use" of the experience and knowledge of older officials. He was as good as his word. He brought in a new central committee with the highest average age since the war—57.8 years, compared with 56 years at the previous congress, 52 years at the last congress presided over by Khrushchev, and 49 years at the last congress presided over by Stalin.

The age structure of the Politburo provides even more striking evidence of the determination of the ruling oligarchy to perpetuate its power. The average age of the eleven Politburo members elected at the previous party congress, with Brezhnev at the head, was 57.5 years. By early this year, when they submitted themselves for re-election, their average age was 62.5 years—but not one of them was prepared to make room for younger people.

Instead of retiring, they coopted four new members, most of them committed to Brezhnev, which brought the average Politburo age down to 60.6 years, still three years older than at the last congress.

The Kremlin's rule by gerontocracy is resented by both the progressive and the conservative elements among the younger members of the leadership, but it is the conservatives who, in alliance with the military, seem to be in a better position to challenge the Brezhnev generation.

In spite of Brezhnev's outspoken "consumerism," the increases in consumer welfare decreed by the twenty-fourth congress were comparatively modest. The emphasis was on words rather than on hard figures. But the draft of the five-year plan, passed by the congress in March, was to be elaborated in detail by August, and presented to the Supreme Soviet

by the beginning of September for final approval. Once again, however, the official deadlines were ignored while Brezhnev fought to enforce his policy in the face of repeated challenges from the conservatives.

Of course it was correct to argue, as an authoritative pro-Brezhnev article in "Problems of Economics," that production, consumption, and accumulation were equally necessary. But to say this, it maintained, gave no answer to the real question. Which of these three categories expressed "the highest aims of Socialist production?" There was no united view on this, it said, "among Soviet economists"—which meant, in the code always used in these disputes, "among Soviet politicians."

There was, it firmly declared, "a certain contradiction" between the needs of consumption and accumulation, and this made itself felt "every time" the question of resource allocation arose.

The article thus came closer than the Soviet press has ever done to revealing the struggle over resource allocations between the pro-consumer and anti-consumer factions.

The article was, in effect, a defence of Brezhnev against charges of "consumerism." It argued in great detail in favour of the consumer policy he had supported so emphatically in the face of attacks by the military lobby—a policy, it maintained, which "has nothing in common with the so-called consumer approach to economics." So much, it may be said, for Comrade Mashev and his complaints about "consumerism."

But in the Politburo the argument was not settled until the middle of October. Only then did an official announcement make it clear that the new five-year plan had been finally approved by the Politburo, and that the text would at last be submitted to the Supreme Soviet, when it meets for its long-delayed session on Wednesday.

The indications in the Soviet press suggest that Brezhnev and the consumer lobby have won this round—as Malenkov did briefly before he was defeated by Khrushchev, and as Khrushchev did, for quite some time, before he himself was overthrown by Brezhnev. The marshals have never taken over the Kremlin, but every time, in alliance with the conservatives in the leadership, they have made sure that in the end the military got most of what they wanted.

Brezhnev's victory, even if

it is confirmed by the central committee and Supreme Soviet sessions, and even if it results in the further demotion of Sholepin, could hardly be regarded as final. The amount of time it took Brezhnev to secure his five-year plan shows how strong the opposition to him was, and how easily the decision could yet go the other way, in the next round of the struggle.

The effect of any such reversal on SALT, the strategic arms limitation talks, and on the whole relations of Soviet-American relations, would hardly be beneficial. But then, the conservatives think that Brezhnev has already gone too far in his dealings with the United States.

"It would be naive to think," said a recent article aimed at the conservatives by the party journal "Kommunist" "that in contemporary conditions one can simply refuse to have any dealings with the United States."

But Brezhnev's opponents do not object to "any" dealings, only to those which constitute, in their view, unwarranted concessions to the United States. As "Kommunist" said in a further article last month, those "woebegone critics" who would have to make "unilateral concessions" to the West had been proved wrong.

Ostensibly, "Kommunist" was replying to foreign critics of Brezhnev's policy—but the ambiguous wording also fitted Brezhnev's domestic critics, no doubt deliberately, as is often the case in veiled Soviet leadership debates.

The evidence available between the lines in the Soviet press suggests that the Soviet marshals are trying, in collaboration with their allies in the political leadership, to get the Kremlin to adopt the military view of the world, on such matters as foreign and arms policies in general, and on SALT in particular. In this they would not differ greatly from the professionals in the Pentagon, and they would seek to press their views with much the same arguments about national security and patriotism.

The Soviet marshals' chances of winning the argument are probably no less than the chances of those who are pressing similar arguments about SALT on the White House.

The only difference is that President Nixon is safe until the next election, while Brezhnev could be removed whenever the hard-liners in the party leadership form an effective alliance with the military, as they did against the only two other leaders who have reached the top since the death of Stalin.

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Mead in the mud

MALCOLM DEAN,
New York, Sunday



Margaret Mead

organisation set up by government officials and what the minutes of the meeting called "the SS Community" (Social Scientists).

Dr Wolf, who was an obvious man for the students to turn to as a founder of the anti-war movement, wrote to four of the anthropologists named in the files, asking for clarification. But by then the students had already published the names of the anthropologists who felt themselves maligned by the disclosures and were not ready to cooperate.

In May of last year, the Ethics Committee met in Chicago and announced that in Thailand "anthropologists are being used in large programmes of counter-insurgency... These programmes comprise efforts at the manipulation of people on a grand scale and, intertwined, straightforward anthropological research with overt and covert counter-insurgency."

This resulted in a reprinting for the Ethics Committee from the executive council of the anthropologists, which felt the committee had exceeded its mandate. This in turn led to the resignation of Dr Wolf. The

row was then taken up in the columns of the "New York Review of Books."

Just before last year's annual meeting Dr Wolf wrote a long background piece in the magazine and forecast that there would be "an accelerating effort to centralise power and control resources on a global scale by the US Government. As the Thailand papers show the Government is less interested in the economic, social, or political causes of discontent than in techniques of neutralising individual or collective groups."

Last year's meeting appointed Dr Mead and two other anthropologists to study the allegations. In depth. This weekend, after studying 6,000 pages of evidence, Dr Mead returned to the annual meeting with a report which found no American anthropologists had contravened the ethical principles of the association in Thailand.

Their report said that although several projects had been funded under the label of counter-insurgency "it was only a label which anthropologists used knowing it was the only way to obtain funds.

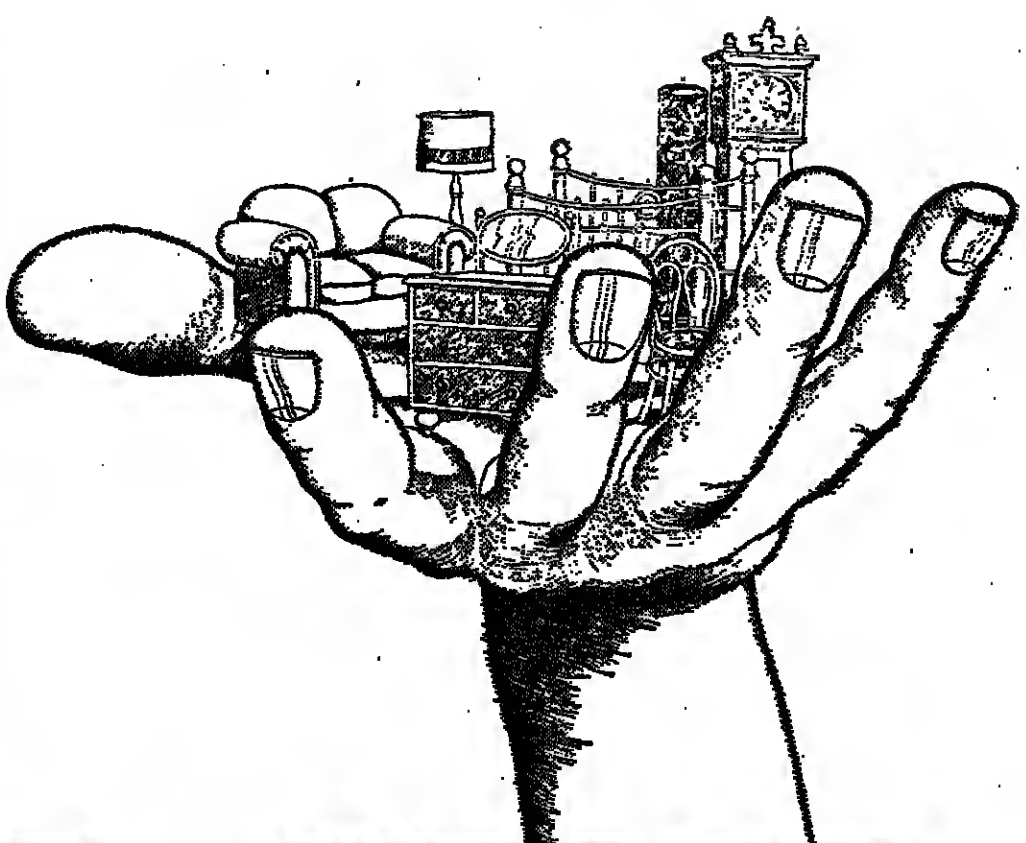
In earlier times it would have been handed out under the general title of "social health" or "communication." "To attack a rural health research worker because his project is funded as counter-insurgency is to miss this fundamental point."

Dr Wolf, who in a hall of long hair and beard looked more like an accountant than a radical anthropologist, with his business suit and neat haircut, walked to the microphone to read out an extract from one of the research projects in Thailand. What he wanted to know was Dr Mead's assessment of a research project in Thailand designed to help "low altitude visual searches for individual human targets."

Dr Mead's reply was that no one had seen the report, only a description of the report. She did not deny that the project was being carried out in Thailand, but all she was asserting was that her committee had not been given any proof. She was hissed.

The meeting remained in a sceptical mood. It found Marvin Harris, an anthropological colleague of Dr Mead's at Columbia University, more in tune with its feeling. He described Dr Mead's report as "false dialectics—an act of sophistry."

What was agreed, by Dr Mead and Dr Wolf, was the need to protect data so that it could not be used by those planning assassination, bombing, or other "counter-insurgency" projects. Dr Mead's report suggested field workers should change the names of people and places and delay publication of some reports for up to five years.



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John Ezard on the
NUS conference

Kid stakes



School Kids Action rally at Hyde Park, yesterday

PUPILS' POWER—the day when a schoolboy tells his headmaster: "I'll have to ring my union about this detention!"—leapt suddenly nearer at the weekend. To the concern of teachers, the National Union of Students voted overwhelmingly to help a union called "Independent democratic schools organisation" which is expected to hold its first national conference by as soon as next June.

Jeff Staniford, the NUS executive member who piloted the motion through, said after the debate that the new union would tackle two immediate issues: democracy, "getting pupils on school councils," and discipline—"getting rid of the kind of situation where a head can send 14- to 17-year-olds home because their hair is below shoulder length." He said the organisation could have enormous effects on schools particularly in restricting the power of the heads.

The motion requires the NUS to get the organisation started by next summer, the end of the academic year. Before then it is instructed to appoint a head officer "mainly responsible for schools" and to hold a series of area conferences to draw together and increase the at

present scattered school activists, including the battered remnants of the Schools Action Union. Conference speakers accused headmasters of "repressing" SAU members.

Mr Edward Britton, the National Union of Teachers' general secretary greeted the move with some sympathy but added "No teacher can be happy at this development, if he thinks this organisation will get into the hands of extremists."

Before ulcers start twitching in the staff rooms there must be several reservations about the scheme. The NUS does not intend except, in a direct emergency, to spend money on the School Union beyond ploughing back some of the £2,000 a year profit it makes on subscriptions from its 12,000 existing school associate members. These at present join the NUS chiefly for access to its cheap travel services.

Secondly the NUS is deterred by the anxiety of delegates not to become the "schools' Mrs Thatcher"—from doing the donkey work of collecting subscriptions and helping administrator and account the new union.

Jeff Staniford said, "Should school students ask us for this sort of help we might be able

**David Fairhall
on the Harrier
— Britain's
most contro-
versial, most
brilliant and
now, possibly,
most success-
ful plane. A
superb toy
that may
become a prop
of America's
navy.**

Perhaps the Harrier's biggest obstacles in winning acceptance—as it now has done from the RAF, the US Marines, and influential opinion in the Royal Navy and the US Navy—have

But good jet engines tend to grow until they are scarcely recognisable, and so it has been with the Pegasus, built by Hawker Siddeley British Engine division of Rolls-Royce. The RAF's original operational requirement for the P1127, as it was then known, was written around an engine that would be developed up to 13,000lb of thrust. The squadrons now operating in Britain and the Middle East are fitted with Pegasus 10 engines no more than 20,000lb thrust. The US Marines are getting a standard export version with the 21,500lb Pegasus 11 engine, and a Pegasus 15 of 24,500lb thrust is under development. What is more, the Hawker Siddeley claim that there is no theoretical reason why the thrust should not go on increasing to about 30,000, roughly twice the original power.

In Britain, the turning point came when the former Labour Government decided that it could not afford to buy any new carriers and that the existing ones might as well be scrapped as soon as we pulled out of Singapore. This policy was partially reversed by

In some superficial ways, the concept resembles that of the Russian helicopter carriers. Modern aircraft are hoisted out from the point of view of the Harrier's operation the British design's long deck, running from one end of the ship to the other, is essentially different to the Russian vessels' much shorter deck, interrupted amidsthips by a tall superstructure. The British design's lift can in fact take advantage of only a short run, to get some lift from its wings, it can carry a substantially greater payload. But there is a minimum length of deck, probably about 400 feet, which is useful in the way, that the British class does not have it. The long-awaited Russian equivalent of Harrier, derived from the crude prototype displayed at the Domodedovo

The question is whether the Harrier's performance has or will reach the minimum that is acceptable in a naval environment—where, for example, the ability to loiter on reconnaissance missions is particularly valuable. The

The US Navy could decide to wait for a more advanced, supersonic aeroplane, although the requirement it published last week sounded altogether too urgent for that. Zumwalt is more likely to test his sea-control concept with the hardware that is readily available and then move on to a more ambitious aircraft. The Royal Navy would do well to follow his example.



In London for the same period. Report after report has shown that the furnished rented sector in the housing stress areas provides the worst housing for the poorest part of our society—those people in greatest need of help. They have accepted furnished lettings not from choice, but because they have no alternative. In his report on London homelessness, Professor Greve found that for half the families applying for local authority temporary accommodation came from furnished accommodation. These are the people at the bottom of the housing pile and we only hope that the Government will remedy their appalling omission by separate legislation if necessary.

C. Miles Davies,
Chairman, Housing Committee
Shelter Housing Advice Centre,
189a Old Brompton Road,
London SW5.

Heald Green,
Cheadle, Cheshire.

Sir.—Mr. Webb (November
16) says that the keystone of
the theory on which com-
mercial radio is founded is the

This time, I am told that the principal had no alternative as a result of the 1966 Pilkington Report, on the size of classes in technical colleges (Report of the Committee on Technical College Resources) in response to ILEA directives based on Governmental policy administered by the Department of Education and the Arts. This policy may indeed be as rigid as I understand, but I have a tiny doubt as to whether the Pilkington recommendation that evening classes should have a minimum of 15 students (quoted to me by the college) but more flexible in the report, had a sound practical reason to prevent the purchase of expensive capital equipment for the use of a handful of students. This suggests that, even under Pilkington, the basic educational scope for the mass of students, say, engineering class

and banking classes, since the only equipment required for the larger is a blackboard and chalk.

My class had seven students with an average attendance of five, and I should think some 60 students would be affected by the four closures I have mentioned. It would be surprising if this situation had not caused some other colleges

nate interim conclusions are that either Pilkington is wrong or that the Government's educational institutions are putting ratios and percentages before people.—Yours sincerely,

L. A. Jackson
Heathside Lane,
Hindhead,
Surrey.

the basic conditions of working hours and not merely the rates of reward.

Demands such as for the abolition of piece-work, the abolition of labour classification and the demand for a more "humane" work environment have existed side by side with the basic demand for "more money."

Mention was scarcely made of the industrial disputes, which have been raging like open war by the working class against the entrepreneur (and the Government for that matter) over the past 25 years and more seriously over the past decade. Neither was the point made at all, that industrial disputes are today characterised by fundamentally different goals sought by the workers, which involve

As Rene Dubos points out, the question whether the many different forms of "fringe medicine" are sham or of real merit is basically irrelevant. What is important is that their present popularity points to the need for a kind of medical action now so unembarassed by medical science as to be foolish to romanticise the "unscientific" nostrums of correct diet, satisfaction in work, plenty of exercise, natural living, airs and graces, but we ought to recognise that

can make clear the necessity of this, so much the better. But in the long run, the deepest implication could be that examination of the economic and political bases on which modern industrial society is now based has now become a urgent matter, not only of personal integrity and social responsibility, but of physical and mental health, and ultimately of sanity and survival.

Roger Hermann
144 Fellows Road,
London NW 3.

[illegible]



Kowloon—picture by Eric Wadsworth

Colony of contrasts by JOHN GITTINGS

FROM Aden, the Seychelles, and the Fiji Islands they have come, the last British colonialists in existence, to run the affairs of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, cheek by jowl with revolutionary China. This juxtaposition produces a contrast so blinding that the human eye, in self-protection usually manages to avoid it. The Chinese themselves have in the past had good reasons for not making too much of it.

To the Chinese, Hong Kong is regarded as being under the temporary but unchallenged control of the "British authorities." Those authorities, however, refer to themselves as "Government"—never as "the Government." Somehow the omission of that definite article strengthens the self-assurance with which the foreign expatriate, enjoying an income 10 times

that of the average resident Chinese, speaks of his colonial administration.

The only government body with elected members in Hong Kong is the Urban Council, 16 of whose members are "appointed," while the remaining 10 are indeed elected by secret vote. In this year's elections only 10,047 votes were cast, and financial and residential qualifications limit the franchise to less than 10 per cent of the adult population. In any case, "Urban" powers are limited to a variety of social services, some less important than others, which range from public collection to the Hong Kong Herbarium.

It is one of those classic, almost clichéd, situations, where anyone who tries to describe it accurately sounds as if he is just presenting a stereotype. Colourful Hong-

kong is also the place where there is no minimum wage, where child labour (prohibited only in industry) is widely used, and where there is no legal limit on the number of hours worked by male adults. Education is neither universal nor compulsory and it is only this year that it has begun to be provided free, and then only in the colony's primary schools.

Public assistance for the poor and needy is pitifully inadequate, with a maximum monthly payment per person on the roll of the Social Welfare Department of HK\$70 (under \$5). There is no national health service and the main burden of welfare work and relief is borne by private charities. There is no system either of social insurance, which is regarded by "Government" as premature and unrealistic.

In the deep canyons of concrete and glass, formed by the service alleys at the back of the super-modern skyscrapers in Hong Kong's Central District, swept by gales of hot air from the exit vents of the airconditioning systems, beggars pick over the refuse for scraps. These visual contrasts are also stereotyped but equally true. The old lady who sleeps on newspaper at the foot of Battery Walk, right opposite the Ionic facade of the First National City Bank, might be suspected of hammering it up if she did not do it every night.

Those who defend the classic laissez-faire economy of Hong Kong point to the housing of refugees, the relatively high (by Asian standards) per capita income, the need for cheap labour so as not to discourage further in-

vestment, and the "Chinese mentality" which is supposed to explain such diverse phenomena as the corruption in the police force and the fire hazards in the factories. But the clinching argument is that Peking itself would be horrified at any thought of democratic reforms in Hong Kong, which might produce some bourgeois alternative to the eventual Communist takeover.

The usual explanation given for China's tolerance of what Khrushchev, teasing the Chinese for their inaction, once wickedly called this "colonial sore," is Hong Kong's value as a source of foreign exchange. Thus the Communist trading banks in Hong Kong channelled in 1970 a total of \$270 millions to China, or more than 40 per cent of China's annual foreign exchange earnings. However, as China's trade and diplomatic relations expand, the banking facilities of Hong Kong may become a convenience rather than a necessity, and it is unlikely that this was ever the full reason.

Three more pressing reasons should be added. First, Hong Kong is only one element in the relationship, which the Chinese have always seen as at least potentially capable of improvement, between Britain and China. Second, in its dealings with other neighbours whose common frontier with China were imposed by the "unequal treaties" of the last century, Peking has always accepted those treaties as the basis for a working arrangement to preserve the status quo (except when the actual terms of the treaty or customary frontier line are in dispute, as in the cases of the Indian and Soviet borders).

There is no precedent in Chinese behaviour for seeking to overthrow the 1898 Treaty, under which the colony's New Territories on the mainland facing Hong Kong Island are leased, until it expires in 1997. (The island itself and the Kowloon tip of the mainland peninsula are technically British for ever, but no one expects them to survive after the expiry of the lease.)

Third, China appears to regard the Hong Kong issue as essentially secondary to that of Taiwan, and if anywhere requires "to be liberated" first it is that delinquent Chinese province. The events of the Cultural Revolution, in which Hong Kong was so severely shaken by the "disturbances" as they were politely called, did not indicate a change in Chinese policy. The course of the Cultural Revolution in China itself encouraged (and perhaps demanded) a show of patriotic wrath in Hong Kong. The imprisonment or detention of many Chinese, some in a highly arbitrary way, by the Hong Kong authorities, and that of Anthony Grey, in Peking, tied an awkward knot which took two years of diplomacy to unravel, but it did not affect the status of Hong Kong.

But some candid observers of the "disturbances" believe that if these had been geared to local issues rather than simply to the Red Book, they would have won considerable support from the Hong Kong Chinese. Since the Cultural Revolution, popular protest in Hong Kong has begun to make itself felt on issues such as police corruption and language reform (English is still the only official language in the law courts) although the numbers involved are small and mainly students.

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Hongkong contrasts—right, the floating population of Aberdeen, and far right, early morning at Shatin in the New Territories.



Destination Hongkong

by ADRIENNE KEITH COHEN

"IN some happy future there," wrote the "South China Morning Post," "Hongkong will possess a tourist bureau and will receive the attention which its wonderful natural beauty deserves."

That was in February 11, 1908, and it was to be nearly 50 years before this hope was fulfilled. Major Harry Stanley, then with the RAC in London, was the man chosen to get the idea off the ground—and when he retired earlier this year as director of the Hongkong Tourist Association he had seen the number of tourists increase from 47,000 in 1957 to just short of a million people spending £235 millions in 1970.

This growth has not been just a question of new hotels and bigger and brighter tourist attractions but one of cleaning up the colony. Back in 1957 its reputation was bad, particularly in the United States, even then the biggest market. Dope, prostitution, shoddy goods, all contributed to the image of a cheap and nasty place, best avoided by the gentler traveller.

As a first step in establishing confidence, Major Stanley, who had been persuaded by the Hongkong Tourist Association to put out that most people still think of the colony in terms of duty-free shopping, clinging to the commercial centres of Hongkong Island and Kowloon, and largely ignoring those "natural beauties" of which the "South China Morning Post" spoke in 1908.

The scene has changed since then to the extent of towering skyscrapers clinging in every ledge of the precipitous sides of Hongkong Island and the great industrial complex harking on to Kowloon. But go beyond these contemporary trappings and you can still discover a biblical world of ox-drawn ploughs and walled settlements of duck and fish farms and floating villages, and islands of scattered villages built on stilts, and isolated Buddhist monasteries.

Hongkong is still a stop-over in the Far East. Very soon it is likely to establish itself as a convention centre and a travel destination.

Minding their own business

TWENTY years ago few people outside Hongkong would have given much for the colony's chances of survival. The United Nations, engaged in war in Korea, imposed an embargo on trade in "strategic" goods with China—and, at a stroke, put an end to Hongkong's traditional means of livelihood.

In 1951 Hongkong's exports and re-exports to China were worth £110 millions out of a total of £305 millions (at post-1967 rate of exchange). In the following year they were £36 millions out of £197 millions. The colony's export trade with China has never recovered (last year, it sold only £4 millions worth of its own and other countries' goods to the mainland), and it was 11 years before its total exports regained the level of 1951.

Yet, now, Hongkong's domestic exports alone are running at an annual rate of £2925 millions. It is eighteenth in the world export league and among the top ten in exports per head of population. On the latter basis of comparison, it does nearly twice as well as Britain.

Why has Hongkong succeeded where other countries, no less keen to build up exporting industries of their own, have failed? The answer is sheer necessity. Hongkong has virtually no natural resources and has to import six sevenths of its food. Two decades ago it could have thrown in its band, become another impoverished colony and a further burden on the British taxpayer. It chose, instead, to stand on its own two feet. But it didn't stand still. Fortunately, it had a number of advantages to give it a flying start. It had an abundance of City of London-type financial institutions (a

legacy of its former entrepot days), a ready-made managerial and working force through the influx of refugees ahead of Mao Tse-tung's advancing armies, readily available capital (partly from the same source), and the benefit of Commonwealth Preference to give it a tariff advantage in the British market.

The final ingredient in the recipe for a successful industrial revolution was provided by the Hongkong Government. Its economic policy was, and remains, one of encouraging free enterprise. Its negative aspects—though in official reluctance to accord special favour to manufacturing industries—is bound up with a liberal commercial policy, which involves "a minimum of official intervention or vexatious restrictions, and neither protection nor subsidisation to manufacturers" (Hongkong Annual Report, 1969).

When Sir David Trench, Hongkong's retiring Governor, gave his final "State of the Colony" speech to the Legislative Council last month, he was able to produce a checklist of economic progress that few developing countries could match and perhaps none surpass.

● In the 10 years from 1961 to 1970, public revenue grew by an average of 11 per cent annually—and this with only one significant rise in rates of taxation.

● Over the same period, electricity consumption rose by an average of 13 per cent annually, and bank deposits by 16 per cent.

● Total external trade increased each year by about 10 per cent from 1961 to 1970, and by as much as an average of 25 per cent annually from 1968 to 1970.

● Since 1961, exports of the

colony's products have grown at the high average rate of nearly 16 per cent annually. This year the increase is running at the rate of 13 per cent.

Sir David told the Legislative Council: "This is a very high rate of growth, and we must not be too surprised if it now begins to prove difficult to maintain it in percentage terms. Moreover, if this should occur, we must always remember that reversion to more modest percentage growth rates, on an expanded base, would still mean satisfactory economic progress."

Of all the changes witnessed in Hongkong over the years, said Sir David, the rising standard of living of ordinary people had perhaps been the most significant. The colony's industrial working force had grown in the past seven years from 350,000 to 600,000, while an extremely low level of unemployment generally had contributed to a rise of 90 per cent in average industrial wages in the same period. The cost of living, meanwhile, had risen by only some 25 per cent, giving an increase in real wages—and therefore in the average standard of living—of about 45 per cent.

Two big question marks hang over Hongkong's future economic progress. One concerns Britain's almost certain entry into EEC; the other, the rising tide of protectionism in the United States.

The first of these does not now give the same cause for pessimism that it did when Britain first applied to join the Common Market in 1961. In that year Hongkong's exports to Britain were over three times those to the EEC which then totalled only around £10 millions. Last year exports to the EEC nearly equalled those to

Britain, which were worth just over £100 millions. With the United States, the European Common Market countries have been the markets of greatest growth for Hongkong exports in the past decade, and since this has been accomplished without any tariff preference whatsoever, the colony is less worried than it used to be about the loss of its preferential position in Britain that would result from her entry into EEC.

But there is another consequence of Britain's joining the Common Market that could hurt Hongkong more than the abandonment of Commonwealth preference—which, in any case, has been mitigated by Britain's acceptance of the colony as a beneficiary under its scheme of generalised preferences, on the Unctad pattern. It does not worry Hongkong unduly that it will have to compete in Britain on level terms with the exports of other developing countries

outside EEC; what could be more serious is that it will have to compete, at a tariff disadvantage, with the other Common Market countries.

Nevertheless, Hongkong is reasonably satisfied with the deal that Britain's Common Market negotiators were able to conclude with the Six, which gave the colony qualified inclusion in the EEC scheme of generalised preferences—thus ensuring that it would not be at too much of a disadvantage in selling to the richest countries in Europe vis-à-vis its trade rivals among the developing countries.

A greater threat to Hongkong's trade in the future will come from the current protectionist movement in the United States of America. While it was still trying to assess the likely damage of President Nixon's 10 per cent import duty surcharge on all its exports to the United States except quota-restricted cotton textiles, Hongkong was obliged to initial an agreement with the United States

which will severely limit the export of man-made fibre and woolen textiles for five years from October 1—an outcome of negotiations which the colony's Financial Secretary, Mr. C. P. Hadden-Cave, described as having been conducted in the last phase "under the US threat of unilateral import restrictions and against an unreasonable time limit."

Although its imports greatly exceed its exports—last year the gap was £163 millions—the colony has not the slightest intention of departing from its liberal trading traditions. It is still, as it was 20 years ago, standing on its own two feet—in the typical Hongkong attitude, which, in the departing words of the retiring Governor, is to leave industry and commerce to reach their own business decisions as far as possible, while taking care to ensure that fiscal and other policies create a business climate which encourages confidence, investment, innovation, and growth.

Life in the short term

by HUGH D. R. BAKER

CHINA is vast. Whenever you go in the past the empire was weak, the country tended to fragment into a mess of small geographical powers, as with the warlord states of the century. And even when a empire was strong and united, for the majority of Chinese people their society was the local area, not the people of China. These small

But parochialism dies hard. Hongkong is small, the Chinese must be made to feel the horizons drawn in. So the colony is divided in. Those who live on Hongkong Island cross the harbour to Kowloon as though on an adventure. Kowloon people reciprocate. The Cantonese term "opposite side of the sea" is used by each to refer to the other. The third great parish, the New Territories, is seldom visited. It is kept in reserve as it were, a foreign land to be visited only on high days. The ultimate in adventure is a trip to Macao, 40 miles away by sea, but that is for the wealthy who can afford the fare.

On a personal level, too, Hongkong people are parochial. Friends, workmates, and relations make up a man's world, a circle of acquaintance within which he can feel secure. Outside it there are other people, and of this he can hardly be unaware, but they are not his people. They do not belong. So a man's social conscience has parochial boundaries too. Within the circle he may be scrupulous, polite to a fault, generous and trusting; but in his dealings outside that circle he feels himself to be under few constraints.

The man who has just spent five minutes trying to get his friend to go through



Dr Baker is Lecturer in Chinese of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

a door before him may now without inconsistency of conduct be pushing aside an old lady whom he does not know in order to get on the bus first. Perhaps more than most societies, Chinese society in Hongkong has a cellular construction, and few people move in more than one cell. They have much time for the total structure made up of these cells. One cannot hope to stir people by talk of "the public good."

If Hongkong is a small place and the people think small, it is also a characteristic of the colony that it is for most a temporary place and the people think in the short term. It is true that Hongkong Island and Kowloon are British in perpetuity, but the vast bulk of the colony's area is leased land. The New Territories revert to China in 1997 when the lease expires.

Without the New Territories Hongkong has no water (it only just has sufficient with them), no fresh vegetables, no flat land, no airport, little industry, and no breathing space. As a going concern, then, there is only a very uncertain quarter century left. Satisfactions must be taken while they may, and this feature gives a feverish tone to Hongkong life. This is in some contrast with the rural areas, where the indigenous people remain on the land which they have held for a thousand years, but even these people are much infected with materialist frenzy, and it is hardly

opposite to think of them in terms of "bumble peasantry."

If life is possibly to be short, then little thought need be given to the future. Investment becomes a great risk, so returns must be rapid and high. Saving seems pointless, so spend the money quickly. If life is to be short, then more must be crammed into it, and variety must be sought lest something be missed. Not surprisingly, the Chinese of Hongkong are fickle in their tastes.

They are fickle with their food. One of the major satisfactions which can be immediately realised is good eating, and moreover it is a constantly and frequently recurring satisfaction. Eating has long been the pride of Hongkong. With a superb culinary tradition as a foundation and with the stimulus of the ingrained and growing habit of lavish entertainment in restaurants, it would be odd if Hongkong's restaurants were not of the best. But the people want variety, so "the fashionable restaurant" comes about. As soon as a place gets a good name, it is swarmed by the eager gastronomes, only to be replaced in their affections within a few months.

They are fickle with their gods. Few Chinese believe in any one religion; rather they will subscribe to those religions or aspects of religions which seem to offer them the benefits they require. If the Emperor Heaven does not respond to prayer by granting the coveted win at Mahjong, then go to another temple and worship the God of War, or perhaps try asking a statue of the Virgin Mary.

They are fickle with their medicine, running from gods to Western doctors, to Chinese doctors, to spirit mediums. Immediate results are what count.

They are not fickle with their gambling, because gambling, like food, gives immediate satisfaction and is the obvious pursuit in Hongkong's atmosphere of frenzy. The racecourse at Happy Valley draws capacity crowds. Government lotteries take in millions of dollars. Gambling at cards, at Mahjong, at hilliards, and at football is universal, and for those not poor there is always Macao with its dogtrack and licensed casinos. Even the recent boom on the Hongkong Stock Exchange surely has its origins in gambling rather than in investment.

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8. Middle (6).

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27. Egg dish (5).

28. Musical composition (5).

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BUSINESS GUARDIAN

Guardian City Offices: 831 Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.2

Edited by Anthony Harris and Charles Raw

For Saving, Investing and House-Purchase
HALIFAX
BUILDING SOCIETY

Britain may win weather project

By PETER RODGERS

Mr Frederick Corfield, Minister for Aerospace, will be talking about the weather among other things when he starts an important two-day meeting in Brussels this afternoon, with technology ministers from 18 other countries in Europe. The meeting is the long-awaited result of the Algrain reports on technological collaboration in Europe, and one of the most important of the new much-reduced range of projects it will discuss is a European weather centre.

This will aim, with the aid of plant computers, to develop reliable three day to eight-day forecasts, instead of the present maximum of 48 hours ahead. Because of its new £4 million BM computer, which puts it well ahead of other European weather laboratories, the meteorological Office's laboratory at Bracknell, Berkshire, is strong favourite as the site of the centre.

It would be a valuable industrial project with an initial cost of £5 million over five years from the date of the go-ahead, which at the earliest would be six months from now. Running costs will also be sizeable at about £3 million a year after completion.

The centre is one of 17 groups of projects which remain on a long official list of possibilities. The list originally ran to 40 or more projects.

What's left after four years' talks, political arguments and philosophical discussions is a series of more practical and less non-controversial ideas. Part of the weather centre here is a plan for a pilot centre-to-computer communications network, studies of satellite aerials, materials and flight, a European computer network, information centre, a survey of European transport needs up to the year 2000. Seven of the projects will be started today and tomorrow and another 10 are still being agreed about behind the scenes.

The collaboration plans were agreed in 1967 by the six Community countries and they were given the Algrain report which was published in 1969. In spite of its high profile, the weather centre has been a low priority project by the way side and as the number of countries involved has swelled inordinately, the plans were drawn up at a time when it was thought Britain would be in the EEC.

But the French insisted in 1970 that Britain should not be brought in alone. In the EFTA countries and Ireland were asked to join but it did not seem likely that it was simply an EFTA and EEC matter. Most of the rest of Europe eventually signed up as including Yugoslavia and Turkey, so the list in fact included all OECD members in Europe.

FOR THE THIRD TIME in his eighteen months as Chancellor, Mr Anthony Barber has faced one of the central issues of economic policy, overriden the normal prejudice of conservatism, and got it right.

The first was when he ignored the clamour from his own backbenches—and from some more respectable sources—and refused to fight inflation through a draconian credit policy. The second was in his splendid speech in Washington, when he made it clear that at least, he was outgrown the theology of gold, and wants properly administered international paper money.

And now he appears to have completed his apostasy—and his disregard for the dogmas of the "sound money" religion is regarded as nothing less than apostasy by its remaining adherents. He is ready to push up public spending in order to fill the hole in the labour market. Since we have been urging this course in the Guardian for well over a year now, this is in some ways the most welcome of his new conversions.

His new view was given as a single sentence in his reply to the recent economic debate and somewhat expanded yesterday in a newspaper interview. On both occasions he made it clear that he regards

an accelerated investment programme for the public sector as a commonsense answer to a particular emergency at the moment—an uncomfortable bulge in unemployment left over from last year's recession. But in doing so he has set a precedent which, I believe, a great deal more important than he or nearly anyone else yet realises.

To set this precedent at all, he has had to override not only the Conservative sentiment in favour of sound budgeting, but the Treasury's attachment to long-term planning of public investment. This dates back to the Plowden report on public expenditure, and has been a sacred doctrine ever since.

(I remember once seeing the Treasury's chief economic adviser, Sir Donald Maclean, completely floored on this point. He had given a long talk on the need for long-term plans in public investment, and the tremendous cost of disrupting these plans, and then, when asked to balance the payments or the state of the economy, did he then, an industrial planner asked, regard it as less costly

Barber sees the light

The Chancellor is more revolutionary than he may realise when he mobilises the public sector to put the unemployed to work, argues Anthony Harris

For private industry to have to adjust its output and investment plans whenever the economic wind shifted? No answer.)

Mr Barber, by asking the nationalised industries to revise their long-term plans and bring projects forward now, has therefore established a new precedent and a new doctrine. The reason I regard this as so important is that I do not believe that the "emergency" Mr Barber is tackling will prove nearly as exceptional as he must hope.

Why, after all, is unemployment so high at the moment? The idea is now pretty well accepted that it is because of a permanent—and long overdue—shakeout of labour by manufacturing industry.

If you look at any figures apart from those for unemployment, the recession we have just experienced has been a remarkably shallow one. The crisis is in fact about employment, and only incidentally about output or investment.

It is the fear of unemployment which is making consumers reluctant to spend, manufacturers reluctant to invest. Hence the solution, which has dawned in turn on the CBI and on Mr Barber: to attack unemployment directly. If the attack is not successful, we face an ugly prospect of continued stagnation, and a retreat into obstructive work spreading practices on the part of the unions. (It is this fear which

has made the CBI so active in the cause of public spending.)

But suppose that the refutation is a success: what will then happen? Investment and consumer spending will recover, but there is no guarantee that the demand for labour will also respond. On the contrary, there are plenty of signs to show that the next round of investment and modernisation will reduce still further the demand for labour in manufacturing. In the long run, one can expect a growth of the service industries, but there is no law of economics to say that the demand for services will grow fast enough to prevent unemployment rising.

The deficiency can arise in two ways: either because of deficient demand (or excessive saving) as at the moment. In such a case, deficit spending by the Government is the appropriate answer. Mr Barber can raise public sector investment while he cuts taxes.

But unemployment may persist even when refutation leads to "excessive" demand, as measured through the balance

of payments—the problem of regional unemployment, even in a boom is a familiar one, and the problem would only solve itself if the unemployed completed for service jobs to point where wages were depressed enough to stimulate the creation of new ones.

Both trade union activity and the existence of wage-related unemployment benefit (related, in the last resort, to manufacturing wages) prevents this. It is as possible in Britain as in India to have a "modern" sector of the economy which does not use up all the available labour.

What Mr Barber is now proving is that the State can solve this problem by adding social to private demand. At present public spending is financed by borrowing, and looks economically like a Keynesian refutation: but with a different level of private demand, and a different balance of payments, public spending would have to be financed from taxes: the process would then look more like redistribution from the employed to the otherwise unemployed.

Will Mr Barber one day be a Conservative Chancellor arguing for high public spending and high taxes, too? Now that he is demonstrating that the State can put the unemployed to work, he may find this logic hard to resist.

BSC to 'lose' past losses

By VICTOR KEEGAN

Negotiations between the Government and the British Steel Corporation to cancel a large part of the BSC's accumulated losses and to increase its borrowing powers are believed to be at an advanced stage.

An announcement is expected in the forthcoming Iron and Steel Bill to be introduced to Parliament soon but it may be speeded up if the Government decides to bring forward some of the corporation's investment plans in order to relieve unemployment.

The corporation has not yet been told by the Government to accelerate any of its capital expenditure but it could happen at any time since the whole programme is being reviewed by the Department of Trade and Industry. The main purpose of the Bill is to increase the statutory borrowing powers of the BSC from the present limit of £650 millions to enable it to continue its planned capital expenditure programme.

Like most nationalised industries the BSC has appealed to the Government for financial assistance to enable it to peg its prices to the 5 per cent maximum recommended by the CBI. Part of the BSC's problems arise from the fact that the Government have a proposed 14 per cent price increase earlier this year. The corporation is now making losses approaching £22 millions a week.

The BSC has pointed out to the Government that it cannot be expected to make a profit when its prices are pegged yet it is required to maintain its capital expenditure programme. The DIT may also clarify soon the much-debated question of whether a new 10 million ton steel works, costing well over £1,000 millions, should be located in Australia, near the source of the raw materials, or in Britain. The corporation's preference is for such a steel-works to be located in Europe (not necessarily in Britain though) near its major markets, but the DIT has been seriously considering the economics of making crude steel in Australia and delivering it to European and Far Eastern markets in semi-finished form. If such a project were undertaken Mr John Davies, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, is key man to favour the introduction of private capital in some form or other.

The BSC dismissed weekend reports that Lord Melchett the BSC's chairman might be forced to resign over the possible construction of a giant steel works in Australia not under the dominance of the BSC.

Interest centres on ICI

A wide range of interesting companies are expected to report their interim and final results this week. Headline figures are ICI, whose third quarter figures are due on Thursday. The group's first half pre-tax profits were down £3 millions at £74 millions.

Bass Charrington is also expected to weigh in on Thursday with final results, which, if they follow the trend shown by the interim figures, should show a substantial increase in profits.

Other finals expected this week include Metropolitan Estate and Property Corporation (Tuesday) and the Proprietors of Hay's Wharf (Thursday).

BSA 'to recover in two years'

By OUR FINANCIAL STAFF

Lord Shawcross, the chairman of Birmingham Small Arms, says in his annual report that he is unable at present to make any financial forecast for the company's 1971-2 year in view of the current reorganisation of BSA's large motor-cycle division. But the directors believe that the benefits of reorganisation will be apparent during 1972-3.

He points out that with the £10 million funds made available recently from institutional sources, together with the sales of trade investments, the group should have sufficient funds to get them over the seasonal peak during the next few months.

After this, the company's borrowing position "should be very much better and more secure continued support from the banks and the Export Credits Guarantee Department."

Lord Shawcross says that the company has already obtained "some £2 millions" from the sale of its holding in the Sealed Motor Construction Company, and he expects that the remaining £3 million needed to cover the company's estimated peak requirements during the next few months "will be obtained shortly from the sale of most, if not all, of the metal components division."

The company's auditors, Cooper Brothers, have qualified the company's accounts for the year to July 1971.

In their report, Cooper Brothers say: "We have been unable to verify the adequacy or otherwise of the provision for future costs of factory and product rationalisation in the motor-cycle division, stated in the accounts at £4.25 millions." Subject to this reservation, says the auditors, the accounts would be around 27 per cent.

The one blemish to this situation is, as Mr Brooke, the Simon chairman says, Government incentives for investment. This would probably mean investment grants, and the present Government has been loth to concede this.

Even that would take time to work through to profits so the shares at 110p on an unchanged P/E ratio of 10.1 could have further to fall. These results could also have adverse effects on other process plant manufacturers such as Davy-Ashmore, Matthew Hall, and Capper Neill.

LONGTON TRANSPORT Assorted offering SMALL industrial holding companies are not favourites of the stock market and as a result Longton Transport, this week's offer for sale from Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation, is coming to the market on a comparatively low price earnings ratio.

and accompanying notes, particularly Note 11, together give a true and fair view.

The section of the directors' report to which the auditors refer points out that the provision of £4.25 millions for future rationalisation costs cannot be assessed precisely. It is an estimate prepared on a conservative basis.

Note 11 to the accounts reiterates the point made by the company's former chairman, Mr Eric Turner, in a letter to shareholders early last month. It says that the accounts have been prepared on a going concern basis, and that the balance sheet figures would not fairly reflect the position if the company were to be put into liquidation. But bluntly the note warns that the assets of the company would be worth substantially less than their balance sheet value in the event of liquidation.

The directors also point out that during the year, the value of stocks in the motor-cycle division increased by about 564 millions. They say some £2.1 millions of this was a planned increase to take into account the effect of inflation and the abnormally low stocks at the previous year-end.

But the remainder of the increase was largely accounted for by higher than normal factory stocks and work in progress as a consequence of the division's inability to complete finished machines in time for the peak selling season.

Lord Shawcross, in his report, says that the adjustments on reserves associated with the provisions the company has had to make, the disposal of investments and trading losses, is to reduce stockholders' investment in the group to £15.8 millions.

This proved a disaster and the company had to quickly close down the business and write off £150,000 from reserves.

At the same time the group's prospectus shows that the average age of the six directors—who after the issue will control 43 per cent of the equity—just under 57. Each of them has just entered into a new five-year service contract.

Up until two years ago the group's profit record was profitable but dull. Pre-tax profit between 1962 and 1969 grew from £109,000 to £215,000. The group then started processing sheet steel to customers' requirements. This plus BSC price increases helped profit to jump from £278,000 to £358,000 last year.

The board has decided to install a second heavier "cut-up" line next year but already the cost of new machinery and higher steel stocks has sent the group's overdraft and HP commitments up to £825,000.

The offer for sale, which will increase the group's ordinary capital by a third, will raise £855,000 and will be used to reduce these overdrafts.

Profit growth for the current year to March has been held back by the poor commercial vehicle market and the board is forecasting £377,000 pre-tax. Exactly 63 per cent of the group's ordinary capital is in deferred shares which are not eligible for dividends until 1976. Excluding these at the offer for sale price of 47p, the shares are on a prospective price earnings ratio of 7.8 with a yield of 6.1. Fully diluted the shares are on a prospective price earnings ratio of 12.6.

Cocoa may fall further

Cocoa prices, after a brief respite, declined to fresh five-year lows last week, with losses of up to £9 per ton being recorded at Friday's close. During that afternoon the week's lowest point was reached, when near December traded at £136, March at £139.50 and May at £136.50.

Last week's losses were prompted by reports of selling by most origins and removal of speculative interest in view of the bearish statistical outlook for the market, which suggests even lower prices and thus produces fears of even further selling. Recent manufacturer covering in futures has also showed signs of drying up and the general outlook for prices is pessimistic.

Rubber also lost ground last week and the spot price, buyers, closed on Friday at 13.60p per kilo—down 0.30p on the week. The tight technical squeeze on November in Singapore ended when the position expired and, with this artificial support removed, the market returned to fundamentals.

High stocks

West Malaysian statistics show that stocks at the end of September were the second highest since February, nearly 30,000 tons above the previous peak of 50,000 above those for September, 1969. While demand remains at a low ebb and high production and stock figures continue to overhang the market, there is little optimism for any sustained price improvement.

As expected, the International Sugar Council set initial quotas for 1972 at 105 per cent of basic export tonnages, making 0.2 million tons available next year. The London futures market reacted little to this news and overall price movements during last week were fairly narrow.

However, the market displayed an underlying buoyancy (helped by estimates of a drop in Cuban production and a disrupted start to the harvest), although a mid-week advance was checked following the announcement that F.O. Licht has estimated 1971/72 world production at 74,826,000 tons, compared with 72,768,000 in 1970/71.

The world price of physicals showed little movement and the London daily price of raw sugar remained consistently at 44s per ton. Coffee futures were more active last week, showing an overall steadier tendency. At the close on Friday, spot November was quoted at 2361 per ton, compared with 2368.50 the previous Friday.

Fears of a tight quota position, particularly for other mild Arabica coffees, and reports that the Uganda Board had withdrawn from the market as a seller of January/March shipment—quota sales for that period having been completed—combined to produce buying interest.

The ICO executive board postponed any decision on the US proposal to switch first and second quarter quotas at its meeting this week.

The majority of North Indian teas on offer at last week's auctions displayed fresh gains while Ceylons, with the exception of Uvas, advanced for all descriptions. The wool market was initially quietly traded although subsequent improved US bids forced both the dry-combed and greasy contracts higher.

London Metal Exchange Markets remained subdued with copper and lead closing Friday at 2399 and 286.75 per metric ton for the respective cash positions—the lowest levels for four years.

Camden proves car hire is not only for giants

Growth Fund By JOHN COYNE

WHEN YOU have a group like Godfrey Davis standing on an historic price earnings ratio of 18.7 (and a prospective one of 17) it seems the time to buy into Camden Group.

While it is a smaller firm in car hire and motor dealing, this is compensated for by the broader trading base provided by a substantial hire purchase and finance business.

Like others in the car hire business, Camden Group's profits are bounding ahead under the two-pronged effect of a better underlying trading trend, and the sharp uptrend in used car prices this year, which has tended to cut back the depreciation losses car dealers when they are replaced with current models.

In percentage terms Camden's profit has been moving up faster than those of Davis. In the first half of its latest year to end September last they rose by 23 per cent before tax, and I gather that the stimulus that the Government's reflationary moves provided, especially on the car sales side, has tended to accelerate the growth in the closing months.

However even at the first half rate of increase, profits for the year are going to come out at £230,000 before tax. On this figure earnings would be 454 per cent, to put the prospective price earnings ratio at only 9.7.

So Camden's historic earnings multiple of 22.2 and prospective one of 9.7 compare with 18.7 and 17 for Davis, and while the larger size and better record of the latter clearly argues a premium, certainly not one of this size.

On trading grounds the prospective price earnings ratio ought to be nearer 14 to bring Camden into line with the ruling accorded Davis. This would argue a price of around 64p for Camden.

But this is simply on the trading front. Camden is sitting on some valuable assets which suggest that a rationalisation programme of those property assets that could be better used for development outside the main business, could leave the trading side virtually unscathed as far as profits are concerned.

Thus justifying much the same share price for earnings—and either raise new funds for expansion or generate new profits from rentals.

Unofficial estimates suggest that the current asset position is equal to something over 60p a share. However if the straight asset situation were separated from a trading situation which

HOW WE STAND

Shares Company	Buying price	Present price	Present value
500 Bossey & Hawkes	160	220	1,100
1,750 Wearra Shoes	27	36	630
1,000 Reinsurance Corporation	58	82	820
1,500 Colmore Investments	34	34	510
1,500 Redfern National Glass	136	168	840
2,500 Ellis & Goldstein	25	28	700
2,000 Nantyglo & Blaina Estates	26	40	800
1,000 Lambert Howarth Group	59	62	620
800 Barton & Sons	72	72	576
200 Charles Sharpe	281	350	700
1,800 Wm. Jacks	26	30	540
700 Robert H. Lowe	72	87	609
1,000 Camden Group	44	—	450
Cash			1,221
			10,153
			5,000
			5,153

Capital on April 17, 1971

Profit after realised dealing expenses

is reted on its earnings, then the market price would be a lot more than just this present asset value.

There are plenty of rumours around, that this is just what will happen with the group. Rationalisation moves are thought to have been sparked off by a bid approach.

The board had little difficulty in discouraging this approach, with its own personal holding approaching two million ordinary shares, but of course they have a duty to other shareholders to see that the shares attain a worth equal to, or above, any suggested takeover price.

Anyway, whether it is viewed as a break-up situation, or a straight trading case, the shares look far too cheap at their current 44p. The indicated yield of 6.1 per cent is also useful as something of an income sweetener in any portfolio now-

days, with the average return in the market as low as 5 1/2 per cent.

There has been little relevant news to affect the rest of the portfolio over the past week and it has merely tended to move up with the market. It is probably worth commenting on Lambert and Howarth group in relation to the current cold spell.

When last I spoke to the group they told me they were taking a calculated gamble on good sales around Christmas, by building up reserve stocks sufficient to cope with any additional demand upturn. What was needed to ensure a really buoyant outcome to an already good year was a nice cold snap to lift demand for winter shoes and boots.

Well, they seem to be getting it at the moment, so they must remain a buy at only a few pence above my original recommendation price.

Difficult for Common Bros

Sir Rupert Spelt, the chairman of Common Brothers, the shipping group, says in his annual report that the current year is likely to be difficult for the group.

The improved returns are expected from orthodox shipping operations which should more than offset poorer results being experienced by the ancillary services.

As regards CTE Limited, he says results depend upon the success of a vigorous reorganisation of that company's operations and ability to contain increasing costs.

Chemical links best-EDC

Research-based pharmaceutical companies achieve the most effective access to overseas markets by establishing marketing subsidiaries. Supplying markets directly or through licensing has the disadvantage that direct control is weakened. This is the main point in a survey of pharmaceutical firms published last week by the Economic Development Committee for Chemicals. The Centre for the Study of Industrial Innovation did the survey for the EDC's pharmaceuticals working party.

CITY COMMENT

ON ENGINEERING somewhat justifying

AT DOES the word "some-what" mean when applied to profits forecast? Less than months ago, Simon Engineering had forecast somewhat an increase in profits at the same time issued its interim statement. After the scare about what led out to be an easy fertiliser plant contract, has been over, Simon says that profits range between £2.5 millions and £3.5 millions, between a and a third less than the millions made last year.

is perhaps normal for an industrial contracting group to be able to give only an estimate of profits—the difference is 1,000—six weeks before the end of the year. But it is less to see why it was not able to announce that profits for the year would be significantly lower by the end of September when it issued its interim statement.

would be around 27 per cent. The one blemish to this situation is, as Mr Brooke, the Simon chairman says, Government incentives for investment. This would probably mean investment grants, and the present Government has been loth to concede this.

Even that would take time to work through to profits so the shares at 110p on an unchanged P/E ratio of 10.1 could have further to fall. These results could also have adverse effects on other process plant manufacturers such as Davy-Ashmore, Matthew Hall, and Capper Neill.

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Two years ago the board decided to diversify still further into cement mixers but

Highland Distilleries

Highlights from the Annual Report and the Statement by the Chairman, Mr. H. M. Penman, presented to the 85th Annual General Meeting of The Highland Distilleries Company, Limited held in Glasgow on the 19th November, 1971.

Year ended 31st August	1971	1970
Group Profit before Taxation	1,915,604	1,853,782
Group Profit after Taxation	1,242,554	1,130,062
Ordinary Capital	2,558,750	2,488,750
Dividend Rate	30%	29%

Group profits before taxation included £108,293, being the post acquisition profits of Matthew Glasgow and Son Limited which was purchased in November 1970. Group sales amounted to £5,315,300, of which £1,189,720, including duty, related to Glasgow Sales for the year, ex Glasgow, show an increase of £179,854. Prices for our new whiskies were increased but this was offset by higher grain costs. The upturn in sales of matured whisky in the second half of the year was due to some extent to higher shipments to the U.S.A. in advance of the longshoremen's strike.

Dividends from Robertson & Baxter Limited totalled £229,713 compared with £212,897 last year. This company continues to support the development of the brands in which it is interested.

We believe that in "Famous Grouse" we have acquired a particularly high quality Scotch Whisky. Sales in the initial period have been developing most satisfactorily, but it may well be some time before we can expect any additional profit from this source, on account of high promotional expenditure.

Contracts for malted barley for delivery in 1972 have been arranged at somewhat lower prices than applied this year, and indications are that there will be an improvement in quality. It is a little too early to comment on prospects for new whisky sales in 1972, and, as regards matured whiskies, accelerated shipments to the U.S.A. this year may have some effect on our sales next year.



BELL'S

SCOTCH WHISKY

"Afore ye go"

SHAREHOLDERS' GUARDIAN

A MARKET ANALYSIS SERVICE INCLUDING
CAPITALISATION AND NET ASSET VALUE

IN THIS NEW once-a-week statistical investment breakdown of 1,000 companies, exclusively prepared for the Guardian by Exchange Telegraph computer, the price quoted is the official closing price on Friday, in pence. The price-earnings ratio is based on the last full year's figures, except where there is an official company forecast for the current year.

The dividend rate is also either the historic payment or an official forecast, except in the following cases: where there has been an increase in the interim to

"reduce the disparity between interim and final payments," an unchanged total is assumed. Where there is no qualification from the chairman or where the advice is that an increase in the total dividend is expected, an unchanged final is assumed and added with the increased interim payment. In the event of a cut in the interim payment, the rate of the final dividend has been scaled down proportionately to the interim dividend rate shown. If the interim is passed, no figure will be given. In the event of the

resumption of payments without any firm official forecast, a "nil" final will be assumed whether or not the chairman intimates the possibility of a final to follow. Bonus payments will be included in the rate where they are regularly paid, i.e. paid for at least two successive years.

The market capitalisation takes in the value of all classes of equity capital. The final column shows net assets per share in new pence. This is calculated on the tangible assets shown in the balance sheet with

adjustments where official and realistic up-to-date valuations are shown in the footnotes to the accounts. Quoted investments, for instance, would be taken at their cost price shown in the balance sheet; and where directors put a firm valuation of property surpluses, this too would be taken into account. Where no realistic asset position can be given, such as in the case of banks and insurance firms with inner reserves, or some mining companies, no figure will be shown.

BELL'S

SCOTCH WHISKY

"Afore ye go"

BANKS & DISCOUNT HOUSES

Investors Disc.	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of America	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Canada	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of China	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of India	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Japan	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Korea	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of London	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Mexico	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of New York	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Paris	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Rome	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Spain	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Sweden	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Switzerland	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Tokyo	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Vienna	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of Zurich	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Americas	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the East	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Middle East	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Pacific	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the South	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the West	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the World	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Atlantic	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Indian Ocean	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Mediterranean	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the North Atlantic	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the South Atlantic	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the West Indies	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Caribbean	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the Central America	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the South America	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the North America	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
Bank of the South America	120	12.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1,200	1.0
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Bank of the North America	12						

Injustice of a penalty jars West Ham

By JOHN ARLOTT: West Ham 0, Manchester City 2

Lawn tennis, hockey and other sport—page 19

Tomorrow Sir Alf Ramsey selects the squad he needs for the final European Championship match in Greece on December 1, on Wednesday the Under-23 side play Switzerland, a team made up of a mixture of young and older experienced players at Ipswich. On Saturday Sir Alf saw seven candidates in action at Upton Park. Bobby Moore and Colin Bell are, fitness allowing, certainties for the England match, while Mike Summerbee and Frenchie

Trevor Brooking and Tommy Booth justified their selection for Young England, together with Lampard who comes into the side now that a club competition sponsored by an American oil com-

Colin Bell wins possession of the ball for Manchester City from Peter Eustace and Bryan Robson of West Ham United

Two gift goals lift Millwall

By PAUL FITZPATRICK: Manchester Utd 3, Leicester 2

By FRANK KEATING
Millwall 3, Birmingham

By CYRIL CHAPMAN
Wolves 5, Arsenal 1

One shot of any consequence was fired at Parkes during the first half, by Kennedy, and this swiftest past the Wolverhampton goalkeeper with a certainty that must have filled Wilson with dreadful forebodings. Five goals in the second half fulfilled his worst fears.

The Wolves were sluggish in the first round and, after missing this goal, would have been in an impossible situation against the old Arsenal. Much of the early part of the game was a kick and a run, and it was only when Patrick, an official of far from meagre proportions, whose sharp sprints into position might have been compared to those of a bulldog, currently a critic of unfetters that there was one man

One little fracas between Munro and Storey caused the referee some anxiety but after half time his main occupation was goal recording. Weststaffe scored the first, with a left-foot shot from a quite difficult angle. Wilson fell heavily on one shoulder trying to save and this could have impaired his mobility when it came to facing later horrors.

Hibbitt knocked in the second goal after working himself a good position past two dumb-struck

When Leicester City were relegated in 1986, they were arguably one of the best and the unluckiest sides of recent years to be demoted. On Saturday they gave ample evidence that their demotion was an injustice; that their rise back to the top was no fluke. Leicester's top was no Buckle. Leicester's defence was no lot of Frank Farrell. Their former manager, and of Jimmy Bloomfield, their present manager, the combination has produced an impressive team, one which is capable of a much better position than seventh from the bottom, and one which was distinctly unfortunate to leave Old Trafford empty handed.

Leicester suffered heavy blows in the early days of the season. Early on, there must have been many like the man who could not be his "bloody car started" and dismissed the first goal scored by his team after 90 seconds. There must have been many, too, still settling served at the tea, coffee and bars when Law scored the first goal. There must have been many immediately after half time. Yet Leicester refused to let either disappointment upset their composure. They did not let the first half time in fact Leicester looked less than calm was when

opportunism of Law. Scarcely
week goes by when he is not
treated for some injury or other
and he limped out of this game
and the Chicago centre —
ever, had hero instantly left, he
the thirty-first minute, he
left to a remarkable height in
the Chicago team, who had
two hundred league points
— and just after half time his
sharp opportunism had turned
forgivable error by Shilton, who
had been the cause of the
into a goal. And Law might have
scored two more but for Shilton's
anticipation.

Yet Unlited were even more
indebted to Charlton. His corner
to league for the first time.
Unlited were not impressed
as they have been recently, an
extra responsibility fell on Char-
ton's shoulders.

Neither of Leicester's goals
came as a surprise. The first, a
came as the result of a brilliant
utterly before half time. Brown
turned on to Brown's low pass
and the goalkeeper, who had
Steeney. Glover's goal in the
seventy-eighth minute came a
the height of the Leicester's
counter-offensive. But the late
of the Leicester's defence.
were also notable for the atten-
sion of a remarkable talent —
Sammy McIlroy, Unlited's young

By FRANK KEATING
Millwall 3, Birmingham 0

Millwall bauld themselves up alongside Norwich at the top of the Second Division, with an efficient performance at The Den on Saturday. No quarter was given, but quite a few were taken as Birmingham joined the growing army who are taking the game to Birmingham. The London club with gift goals at this time two were wrapped in ribbons, but the other, in all truth, was gloriously taken.

Even without Cripps, Millwall's back are as solid as fuel-tanks, and they are not content to dampen danger and the sparkling attacks take care of themselves. In midfield there is a fine team of Ramsey, the new boy, Holland and Smethurst; never a single Breeze reject, would never an Adventurers Badge, all are reliant on the springers' spillover. There are three in the front and Bridges. It will be intriguing to see how long it will take, now that sparring is over, for the team to get into the division to be humble to it all.

By DAVID LACEY: Tottenham 3, West Bromwich 2

White Hart Lane seemed well worn with dragons' teeth on Saturday. Of the soldiers that thrang up, West Bromwich possessed the cleverest, the most unorthodox, the shrewdest cutting edge. The manoeuvres were superb; the tactics tedious; and five goals only partly redeemed a barren afternoon.

In August, on the slender evidence of three matches, West Bromwich filled second place in the First Division; and then, as the decade has been as precipitous as the last, the great groundswell of defeats ended on one victory after they are now lost, but in saying the coarse-grained, des-

too heavy too early but, not the least, India's summer is particularly well grassed and perfect carpet for foothall of quality. Perversely, Spurs suffered afternoon of ill-directed a purely-placed passes, and the which was strange to opponents none was more infamous than the through ball which Perynny presented to Gould to bring the scores level just after the hour.

Aslie, whose contribution to the team was negligible, was sent Perynny to his face after Gould had scored, an infantile gesture only surpassed in fealty by his cheering when Aslie himself was cut off with a gashed ankle. Football, it can be the most ignominious of sports.

Tottenham's goals came simple. On the stroke of half time Evans collected a short corner from the right and headed it into the net. Tottenham cleared to England who scored sharply and well. Gould's goal was answered with two in three minutes. Tottenham cleared a hard set piece from the right. Twelve minutes from the end Brown scored a second goal. Brown's goal was the result of inexperience, resentment for the injuries Jennings, had before entangled with his own defence.

Tottenham's response was sudden and scarcely did credit to the quiet persuasion of leaders or the re-emergence in the field of Coates. In the past a complaint has been that the white Hart Lane pitch becomes mud-dusted and so muddy a match.

Tottenham Hotspur.—Daines; Begg; Goss; Coates, England; Nelschütz, Petersen, Chivers, Peck, Gilman.

Blackburn Rovers.—Barnes; Brown, Brook, Brown, Ash, England; Minnie, Wilson, Cantello, Wilson, Gower, Hartford, Astle (Kaye m.), Gould, Brown.

Results and League tables

[illegible]**GUARDIAN CROSSWORD 13,092**

JANUS

Cottam joins Northants

Bob Cottam, the 27-year-old
tophand and Hampshire fast
bowler, has joined a Northampton
squad. He had refused to re-sign
for Hampshire, the county he has
served for the past eight seasons.
His Hampshire and Leicestershire
records have been interesting in
growing Cottam.

Cottam said last night: "I
think I have made the right de-
cision. I like the ground and
the people and I have seen
enough of the world to want to
stay where I will fit in."

Cottam played for England on
their tour of Pakistan three
years ago. The Test and County
Cricket Board Registration Com-
mittee has decided whether he will
be allowed to play first-class
cricket in 1972.

Polytechnic out

Madrost, Zagreb (Yugoslavia)
and De Robben, Amsterdam
Holland) qualified for the
finals of the European Water
Polo Club Champions tournament
in the last round of the semi-
finals at Evar, Yugoslavia.
Madrost beat the Greek cham-
pions-Olympiakos Piraeus-7-2
and De Robben defeated London
Polytechnic 7-3. Madrost, three
times winners of the competition,
won all three matches in the
semi-finals.

ACROSS

1. Undertaking apparently doomed to ~~struck~~ (3).

2. ~~At~~ the alternative to a hat (6).

3. He refused to turn case over (3).

4. Take out the obstruction in a river (8).

5. Recover timeless extract of resin (5).

6. Trying to be quiet, but fighting a losing battle (2, 7).

7. Wood, for instance, as inelegant musical director (3, 9).

8. Sad reminder of past carousals? (6, 6).

9. Smoother functions in the factory (4, 5).

10. Concede a freedom-writer a point (5).

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 13.091

S	A	T	H	I	S	M	E	N	T
S	E	R	I	E	N	O	M	A	N
S	E	R	I	E	N	O	M	A	N
R	E	R	I	N	S	E	R	E	N
A	N	I	M	A	T	E	R	E	N
I	E	D	I	C	E	O	M	E	R
G	E	E	S	E	R	O	R	D	I
I	N	A	N	E	R	D	I	N	A
T	R	U	M	P	A	T	E	R	S
A	P	P	E	R	E	R	E	N	T
W	A	T	E	R	E	A	R	S	H
A	R	E	V	E	R	O	S	E	A
Y	E	A	R	O	L	D	S	H	A
N	E	A	R	O	L	D	S	H	A
N	E	A	R	O	L	D	S	H	A
N	E	A	R	O	L	D	S	H	A
N	E	A	R	O	L	D	S	H	A

DOWN

1. Vehicle over making progress (6).

2. Stole, so got arrested (6).

3. Send into the country for remarkable cures at it (8).

4. It takes its subjects unawares to open chamber (5, 6).

5. Happening to see woman over (6).

7. Upset writer having to ill-travel musical work (8).

8. Put rare-show as opening (8).

9. Excellent instructors in country (5, 7).

10. Not told to anyone outside the family? (9).

16. Broken basin takes the drink - 18).

17. Insurgent party (5).

19. The goddess in the Post Office on the side of Men (6).

20. Poles placed in river at certain times (6).

22. Girl takes novel up to church (5).

Solution tomorrow

QUICK CROSSWORD—PAGE 14

